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GEN. W. H. HARRISON.



18145
THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON:

COMPRISING A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF HIS

IMPORTANT CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVICES,

AND AN

ACCURATE DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Council at Vincennes with Tecumseh,

AS WELL AS THE

VICTORIES OF TIPPECANOE, FORT MEIGS AND THE THAMES.

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LIFE OF
GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the Life of the Father of Harrison—Services in the House of Burgesses—Takes a decided part with the Whigs in the American Revolution—Elected a member of the Continental Congress—Anecdote—Important services in Congress—Calls up Resolutions declaring America independent—Reports and signs Declaration of Independence—Revolutionary anecdote—Birth of William Henry Harrison—Educated by the immortal Morris, the Financier of the Revolution, and Dr. Rush, both Signers of the Declaration of Independence—Determines to enter the Army, then struggling with the Indians on the Frontier—Commissioned by Washington—Hardships and dangers of the Service—Defeat of St. Clair—Appointment of Wayne—Victory—Gallantry of Harrison elicits the admiration and praise of Wayne—Victory of Maumee Rapids—Harrison again distinguished, and again publicly complimented by his Commander—Peace with the Indians—Harrison promoted—Appointed to the command of Fort Washington.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was born in Virginia, on the 9th day of February, 1773, at Berkley on the James River, about twenty-five miles below Richmond. He was the third son of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently Governor of Virginia. Benjamin Harrison* was one of the earliest and most conspicuous patriots, and the most active, devoted, and fearless political leaders of the Revolution. His services during and after that eventful period, were inferior in importance to those of but few of his compatriots. Before he had attained his twenty-first year, he was elected to represent his native county in the House

* The facts connected with the life of Benjamin Harrison are taken from Sander son's "Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence." Vide Life of Benjamin Harrison.

of Burgesses, of Virginia. This he did with so much ability and effect, as to attract immediately the attention of the British government. In order to rid themselves of the opposition of one who had already proved himself a stanch and powerful friend of the People, they proposed to introduce him, notwithstanding his immature age, into the Executive Council of the State—a body corresponding in character with the English Privy Council.

The oppression of the King of Great Britain having been already felt throughout the colonies, this proposal, notwithstanding its advantages, was promptly rejected, and **MR. HARRISON TOOK SIDES WITH THE PEOPLE IN THE APPROACHING STRUGGLE BETWEEN THEM AND THE CROWN.**

On the 14th of November, 1764, he was one of the committee to prepare a remonstrance **AGAINST THE ODISIOUS STAMP ACT**, which the British Cabinet at that time contemplated. From this time forward, in company with such men as **LEE, HENRY, NICHOLS**, and others, his whole energies were directed towards **A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE CROWN.**

He was a member of the first Continental Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. It is well known that the proceedings of this body were conciliatory and pacific in their character. They adopted an address to the Crown, and resolved to await quietly its effect.

In the year 1775, Mr. Harrison again appeared as a delegate from Virginia, in the Continental Congress.

Shortly after Congress had met, the chair, which had been before occupied by Mr. Harrison's brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph, became vacant. Congress was divided in the choice of his successor, between Mr. Harrison and the patriotic John Hancock. Mr. Harrison promptly yielded to Mr. Hancock; and when the latter, through distrust in his experience and capacity to discharge the duties of a situation so trying, for a moment hesitated to take the chair, Mr. Harrison, with practical good humour, "seized the modest candidate in his athletic arms, and placed him in the presidential chair;" then turning to the members, he exclaimed, "**WE WILL SHOW MOTHER BRITAIN HOW LITTLE WE CARE FOR HER, BY MAKING A MASSACHUSETTS**

MAN OUR PRESIDENT, WHOM SHE HAS EXCLUDED FROM PARDON BY A PUBLIC PROCLAMATION."

On the 4th of June, this year, Mr. Harrison was appointed on a committee to place America in a state of defence; and, after a month's deliberation, the committee made a report, which formed the basis of the present militia system of the United States. In September of this year, he was one of a committee who, in conjunction with the immortal Washington, arranged a plan for the future support of the army. He was the Chairman of the committee through whose agency the gallant Lafayette and his companions were induced to enter into the struggle for independence; and shortly after, he was appointed a member of the Board of War.

On the 10th of June, 1776, Harrison called up the resolutions by which the colonies were declared INDEPENDENT, and which authorized a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE to be prepared; and on the EVER MEMORABLE 4TH OF JULY, 1776, he reported that instrument, (our present glorious Declaration of Independence,) as having received the approbation of Congress. HIS NAME WILL BE FOUND AFFIXED TO IT, AMONG THOSE OF THE OTHER DELEGATES FROM VIRGINIA.

A curious anecdote is on record, illustrative of the cheerful temper and intrepidity of the man whom we thus find identified with every turn in the fortunes of his country; at a period when that country was convulsed by a struggle in which all its rights and very existence were involved. Elbridge Gerry, a delegate from Massachusetts, as slender and spare as Mr. Harrison was vigorous and portly, stood beside Harrison, whilst signing the Declaration. Harrison turned round to him with a smile, as he raised his hand from the paper, and said, "When the hanging scene comes to be exhibited, I shall have all the advantage over you. It will be over with me in a minute, but you will be kicking in the air half an hour after I am gone."

Mr. Harrison continued in Congress until the year 1778, when he retired, and afterwards filled some of the most important offices in his native state. In the year 1782, on the resignation of Mr. Nelson, he was elected Governor of Virginia, and was afterwards re-elected until he became constitutionally

ineligible. He continued to serve his country until the year 1791. This year he was unanimously elected to the Legislature. The day following he died, full of years and full of honour.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, as we have before stated, was born on the ninth of February, in the year 1773.* His youth, when impressions are the deepest and most indelible, was passed amid the scenes and patriots of our glorious Revolution; and it was then and there that he imbibed that devotion to freedom and his country, which has since ranked his name among the most illustrious of America's champions. His father died before he had attained his seventeenth year, leaving him no inheritance but an untarnished name and a virtuous example. Whilst he has imitated the latter, he has added resplendent lustre to the former.

The care of his education, which had been commenced at Hampden Sydney College, was committed to his guardian, the illustrious Robert Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the financier of the Revolution, and one of his father's most intimate friends. Of the patriots of '76, no one (Washington alone excepted) made sacrifices so great, or effected so much for his country, as Robert Morris. He fed our famished soldiers out of his private purse; and at the darkest era of the contest, saved the cause of liberty from impending destruction. Such was the patriot sage who contributed to form the mind of Harrison. From him was received, by example and precept, inculcations of that love of liberty, courage, devotedness and patriotism, which have ever characterized the latter. Under the guardianship of the illustrious Morris, and the instruction of the distinguished Dr. Benjamin Rush, also a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Harrison commenced the study of medicine in Philadelphia, which he prosecuted until he arrived at his nineteenth year. At this early period in life, with a disinterested and ardent devotion, for which history has few parallels, he determined to abandon the peaceful walks of science, and cast his fortunes with the army of his country, at that time

* See Hall's "Memoir of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison," for these facts.

warmly engaged in defending our frontier from the invasion of the Indians. His wishes were opposed; not only by Mr. Morris, but by his other friends; and finding it in vain to solicit their interposition, and resolved to devote his life to the cause of his bleeding country, he applied in person to the IMMORTAL WASHINGTON: The Father of his Country, seeing in young Harrison the germ of future greatness, cheerfully complied with his request, and in November, 1791, when but nineteen years of age, conferred on him the rank of Ensign in the United States army. Immediately on receiving his commission, he repaired to the west, and joined his regiment then stationed at Fort Washington, shortly after the defeat of the gallant but ill-starred St. Clair.

The first tour of duty he performed, was in the succeeding winter, when he marched through sleet and snow at the head of his detachment, with his knapsack on his back, to the fatal battle-field of St. Clair, to inter the bones of the slain!

It will hardly be imagined that this transition from the full enjoyment of the comforts and luxuries of a city life, to a winter's campaign against a savage foe, amid the pathless wilderness of the western frontier, could be accomplished without great sacrifice of ease and imminent jeopardy of life. How few are there, at this day, of the pampered sons of fortune residing in our great cities, who would willingly encounter the same hardships and privations for the protection of their defenceless countrymen from the fire-brand, the tomanawk, and scalping-knife of the savage! The youthful Harrison had been accustomed to live amidst the most refined society; his only employment had been the pursuit of knowledge. He abandoned the former for the rude fare of a frontier camp, and exchanged his books for the sword.

No period of our history has been more gloomy than that in which Harrison joined the army. The British, in defiance of the treaty of peace, still held possession of some of our most important frontier posts. Among others, Detroit, Niagara, and Mackinaw were still in their hands. From these, the agents of the British Government supplied the hostile Indians along our border, with the munitions of war, and continually stirred them up to the massacre of the defenceless white population. There appeared to be no security but in the rifle. The

hatchet was unburied, and the calumet of peace extinguished. The population of the west, scattered over an immense extent of country, which rendered intercourse difficult, and mutual aid impossible, fell, one by one, bleeding victims of savage ferocity.

Things had remained in this state, with little intermission, since the treaty of peace.

At the period spoken of, the contest had assumed an aspect of appalling importance. The various savage tribes had consolidated their forces, under the justly renowned chief, *LITTLE TURTLE*, into a confederacy so formidable, as to call forth the utmost energies of the government, to protect the frontier inhabitants from indiscriminate slaughter. The spirit of the hardy yeomen of the west, promptly responsive to every call, and equal to every danger, began to shrink beneath continued defeat. To die by the tomahawk or scalping knife, had been the lot of all who had gone forth: no wonder then that the hardiest avoided a war, in which victory brought no laurels, and defeat came accompanied by death, prolonged by all the ingenuity of savage torture.

Such was the field into which young Harrison entered at *nineteen years of age*, in obedience to the dictates of patriotic duty; we say patriotic duty, for to no other motive can we ascribe the voluntary sacrifices which he made.

Those who served on the frontiers, fought for their *homes*; to protect their *families* whilst living, or avenge them when dead. Those who *commanded* had already acquired laurels in the field, which were to be increased or withered by the conflict. Harrison had neither *family* nor *possessions* on the frontier. He had no *laurels* to guard. Did he seek *wealth*? The wilderness has seldom offered it to the soldier. *Fame*? A juvenile subaltern's portion is small indeed, and held by a precarious tenure. *Ease*? The home and friends he had left were a paradise to the camp of Auglaise. *Safety*? It has never been found beneath the reeking tomahawk and scalping knife of a merciless foe. For him at least, the war was one against hope: a bosom fired with less patriotism had never entered it. The spirit which impelled him to this sacrifice on the altar of his country's good, will be found to pervade his whole

GENERAL HARRISON.

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life. He has never been betrayed into selfishness or seduced into weakness.

The crisis to which we have alluded, was one worthy the sagacity of the great FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. In his choice of a commander whose genius could master these difficulties, he balanced, for a while, between *George Rogers Clarke* and the renowned *Anthony Wayne*; and, at length, decided to appoint the latter. Early in the year 1792, General Wayne arrived at the seat of war and assumed the command. The United States Legion, as Wayne's army was called under the new organization after St. Clair's defeat, was at this time alike destitute of confidence in themselves, skill in the use of their weapons, and knowledge of their foe. He revived their confidence, drilled them in rifle shooting, and instructed them in the artifices of the enemy. About this time Harrison was promoted by GENERAL WASHINGTON, to a lieutenantancy, and shortly after joined WAYNE'S LEGION. His fearlessness and energy, with his strict attention to discipline, soon attracted the notice of his commander, himself a bold and daring soldier and a rigid disciplinarian, and GENERAL WAYNE, not long after his arrival, selected him as one of his aides-de-camp. It is thus seen at how early an age, and in what trying scenes, young Harrison was thought worthy of honourable distinction, and how soon too he drew upon himself the attention and especial notice of a man and a soldier like Wayne, whose well known independence of character was such, that no influence save that of intrinsic merit was ever known to prevail with him, and whose daring, and almost reckless intrepidity, had won for him in our Revolutionary war, the peculiar appellation of "MAD ANTHONY." At one period, during the darkest hour of the Revolution, he proposed to General Washington that a limited number of men be selected from the British and American armies—that the command of the Americans should be given to him, and let the contest between the two nations be thus decided. Though Washington had the greatest admiration for his boldness and military skill, and Wayne expressed the utmost confidence in the result—and no doubt would have gained an easy victory—the Father of his Country regarded the hazard too

great to submit the vast interests of America to a pitched battle or single contest.

Lieutenant Harrison acted as aid to General Wayne, during the whole of the ensuing campaigns, and his bravery and gallant conduct throughout were such, that he was repeatedly officially noticed by his commander in terms of the highest encomium.

The war was conducted by Wayne, with all the cool daring of a veteran soldier, and the sagacity of a prudent general. Negotiations with the Indians failing, he had recourse to military operations; and, on the 23d of December, a small detachment of infantry and artillery were ordered to re-possess themselves of the field of battle of the 4th of November, 1791, the scene of St. Clair's defeat. After a sharp conflict it was done; and in a general order, issued after the battle, the *gallant Wayne*, PUBLICLY TENDERED HIS THANKS TO LIEUTENANT HARRISON, for the COURAGE and GOOD CONDUCT manifested by him during the contest.* If any thing could inflame the passions of a young soldier, it must be such a notice, by such an officer, as the patriotic and chivalrous WAYNE.

This action, in which *Harrison bore so distinguished a part*, turned the tide of war against the foe. In the July following, Wayne moved into the heart of the Indian country, and took up a position at Grand Glaise. The Little Turtle here urged his red brethren to accept the terms offered by General Wayne. They however rejected them, and the two armies immediately encountered each other in battle, on the 20th of August, 1794, at the Maumee Rapids. A bloody and desperate conflict ensued. HARRISON was by turns in every part of the field; and such was his bravery, that the commander, in his general orders, a second time thanked his "FAITHFUL AND GALLANT AID-DE-CAMP, LIEUTENANT HARRISON, FOR HAVING RENDERED THE MOST ESSENTIAL SERVICE, BY COMMUNICATING HIS ORDERS IN EVERY DIRECTION, AND BY HIS CONDUCT AND BRAVERY ENCOURAGING THE TROOPS TO PRESS FOR VICTORY." Had not his whole career—a career marked with uniform success, and

* Hall's Memoir, page 87.

abounding in instances of unexampled heroism—attested the energy and dauntless intrepidity of Harrison's character, such testimony would, of itself, be conclusive.

Thus do we find Harrison, a second time the theme of eulogy with a commander who rarely praised at all, and never but when it was deserved. He had hardly arrived at the age of twenty-one years; but whilst yet a boy he had performed deeds of daring, and earned, with his sword, a distinction which few attain throughout a long life. By the sequel it will be found that the laurels thus acquired, were never suffered to fade.

The fruit of this victory, so decisive in its character, was the conclusion of a treaty of peace with all the hostile Indians, on the 1st of January, 1795, at Greenville, on such terms as our victorious commander dictated. Harrison took an active part, under the direction of Wayne, in the formation of this important treaty. The savages had learned the power of our government to punish; they had also been taught the inability of Great Britain to protect them.

On the conclusion of this treaty, Harrison, now promoted to the rank of Captain, BY THE SAGACIOUS WAYNE, was intrusted with the command of FORT WASHINGTON—a station of more consequence than any other on the western frontier—and the management of the public property, chiefly collected at that post, in charge of which he continued until the death of General Wayne.*

* Hall's Memoir, page 54.

CHAPTER II.

Marriage of Harrison—Anecdote—Resigns his Commission—Is appointed by Washington Secretary of the Northwestern Territory—His well earned popularity—Is elected Delegate to Congress at the early age of twenty-five—His patriotic course in dividing the public Lands—Important results of that measure—Gratitude of the West—The People apply for his appointment as Governor of the Northwestern Territory—He declines from patriotic motives—Is appointed Governor of Indiana—Unbounded power of the office—Unexceptionably exercised by Harrison—Illustration of his republican purity—Treaties with the Indians—Tecumseh and the Prophet—Council at Vincennes—Notice of Tecumseh—Decision and gallantry of Harrison.

WHILE in command of Fort Washington, which occupied the present site of the city of Cincinnati, Captain Harrison married the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the celebrated founder of the Miami settlements—a lady whose estimable social and domestic virtues have endeared her to a large circle of friends. An anecdote is related of his marriage, which illustrates the admirable self-reliance that has ever characterized Harrison, and the entire absence of the advantages of fortune with which he entered the busy scenes of life. On applying to Mr. Symmes for his consent to the marriage of his daughter, Harrison was asked what were his resources for maintaining a wife. Placing his hand upon his sword, he replied, "This, sir, is my means of support!" It is hardly necessary to add, that Mr. Symmes was so much delighted with the daring chivalry and undaunted confidence of the young soldier, as at once to yield him an unqualified assent to his proposal of marriage.

Anthony Wayne died in the year 1797. Immediately after this event, there being no prospect of further hostilities, Captain Harrison left the army and retired to his farm. In this step he exhibited the same regard for the best interest of his country, which has ever distinguished the career of this great and good man. He had encountered her enemies and had subdued them; and although his services, acknowledged and applauded by all, gave him the strongest claim on her for support, and fully justified his retaining a situation under her, equal to his mainte

nance, yet he refused to occupy that station one hour after it had become a sinecure. HE WAS UNWILLING TO BE PAID WHEN HE RENDERED NO SERVICE, OR NOT AN ADEQUATE ONE.

As a reward for his fidelity, the IMMORTAL WASHINGTON APPOINTED HIM SECRETARY OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY, and *ex officio* LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR. Let it be borne in mind, that at this period he was only twenty-four years old. Yet, at this early age, his MERIT, and MERIT ALONE, secured him a place in the confidence of that wise and virtuous man, which at this day thousands would regard as an ample recompense for a life of labour. WASHINGTON, the wise and revered WASHINGTON,* made the appointment. If any are disposed to doubt the propriety of conferring this high honour upon one so young, they must first call in question the soundness of judgment, or purity of heart, of the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Harrison possessed the merit to attract the attention of Washington, and Washington had the discernment to perceive, and the justice to reward it.

In this situation, Harrison mingled with the people in all the varied tasks, toils, and amusements which characterize frontier life. In their company he wielded the axe; with them he held the stils of the plough, or scattered the seed over the bosom of the virgin soil; with them he shouldered his rifle to expel the howling panther, or to guard them against the subtle Indian. The farmer, the trader, and the hunter, were his companions. In the school of experience he learned their wants; in the same school they had been taught to look to him for relief. His political economy was drawn from the book of nature itself.

In this way he became the favourite of the people; and in the ensuing year, when the Territory was admitted to send a delegate to Congress, he was the first man to fill that office, though only twenty-five years old.† He had just arrived at that age when, by the Constitution, he was able to hold a seat in that body. He was, without doubt, the youngest man in Congress; yet we shall shortly see him grappling with the most experienced and able, with signal credit and eminent success.

* Hall's Memoirs, p. 56.

† Ibid. p. 58.

The domestic condition of the settlers of the West was peculiarly distressing, owing to the abuses which had crept into the mode of disposing of the public lands.

These abuses were twofold: First, the disposal of land in tracts of not less than four thousand acres; and secondly, the granting of large tracts of the best land to individuals or companies.

The effect of these measures was to exclude the needy settlers from the benefits offered by the sale of land. In general, they were poor and unable to buy such quantities. The wealthy speculator had it in his power to demand for them what price he chose. There was left to the settler no alternative but compliance with these hard conditions, or to become an impoverished tenant of some lordly landholder. Thus, those who had conquered the forest, and subdued the savage, who had purchased the soil with their blood, and witnessed its fertilization by the bodies of their compatriots, friends, or relations, as a reward for their sacrifices and sufferings, were delivered to the **TENDER MERCIES** of a heartless speculator, whose only superiority was the possession of wealth which he was either unable or unwilling to defend.

Shortly after taking his seat at the session of the sixth Congress, in December, 1799, **CAPTAIN HARRISON** directed his attention to this subject. He moved "for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the existing mode of selling the public lands," and was himself placed at the head of that committee. In due time, he introduced a bill regulating the sale of the public domain. By this bill, the size of the tracts was reduced to sections of six hundred and forty acres, and these were subdivided into half and quarter sections. To speak of the influence of this measure on the interests of the people of the West, and on those of the government, would be superfluous.

The **FARMER**, instead of being the tenant of a wealthy **LAND-LORD**, toiling for his benefit and liable to be dispossessed at his pleasure, became the independent owner of the soil, and transmitted it to his offspring. Emigrants poured into the West; the population expanded; the forest gave place to smiling, cultivated fields; and the great valley of the Mississippi, instead of being the haunt of the savage, has (**THANKS TO HARRISON!**)

become the abode of millions of *intelligent men*, PROSPEROUS, HAPPY, FREE AND INDEPENDENT. The government has sold land to the amount of millions, which, under the old system, would have cost it millions to defend. The debts of the nation are paid; her treasury has been overflowing; and, by a recent act of Congress—the benefits of which have been precluded for a time by gross mismanagement—every State in the Union may reap the advantages of this WISE FORESIGHT of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

It may appear strange, that such a measure should have been opposed. It was however opposed by the eloquent LEE, of Virginia, who brought to any cause he espoused, as great a weight of character, as great a fund of knowledge, and as brilliant talents as any man who held a seat in Congress. HARRISON, however, by his eloquence, and practical knowledge of the wants of the people, bore down all opposition.

At that session of Congress, some of the ablest and most enlightened statesmen, and some of the most eloquent men our country has ever produced, were members. Yet in this severe ordeal, the abilities and irrepressible energies of Captain Harrison commanded universal respect. His report on the subject of the public lands, has always been regarded as one of the most masterly productions ever presented by any pen to the attention of Congress. But not with his *pen* only, did he enforce the claims and rights of the poor emigrants. His eloquent *voice* was raised on repeated occasions, and with great effect, in their vindication. He united to a ready and fluent elocution, an earnestness and honesty of manner, and great familiarity with all the details of his subject, which rendered him one of the most powerful and invincible orators on the floor of Congress.

The justice and true policy of this measure, for reducing the size of the tracts of public lands offered for sale, having been at last universally admitted, subsequent legislators have found it not only an expedient but a most popular measure, and have followed up the principle of Harrison's bill. Our public lands may now be bought in tracts of but eighty acres each, and at a price of only one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre; whereas, but for the destruction of the old system, accomplished by Harrison, and but for the wise and just principle, first intro-

duced by him, that aristocratic and monopolizing system might still have continued. In that case the well known limited means of the early settlers, and consequently the entire absence of those inducements to emigrate, which are indispensable to the peopling of a new and uncultivated region of country, justify the belief that the great valley of the Mississippi, the mighty empire of the West, would not at this day have numbered one half the population, nor boasted a moiety of the great wealth of cultivated fields, prosperous towns and permanent and substantial improvements, which it now contains.

The success of Harrison was viewed with enthusiasm in the West. The people immediately petitioned for his appointment as GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH WESTERN TERRITORY. To this, however, Harrison himself offered the only objection. He refused to accept the office out of respect to the aged St. Clair, who still held it. A nobler instance of disinterestedness has rarely been recorded. *HARRISON is not the man to deprive a veteran soldier of his laurels. He could not pluck one leaf from the wreath that adorned St. Clair's brow to place it on his own!*

In the year 1800, the North Western Territory was divided. That part of it included within the present boundaries of Ohio and Michigan, retained its former name; and the immense extent of country north-west of this, was erected into a separate government and received the name of INDIANA. The office of Governor was instantly conferred on HARRISON,* a merited tribute to his great worth and talents, and as some slight recompense for the services he had rendered the territory in the field and on the floor of Congress.

We have now traced his career from the hour, when he entered into the service of his country under Washington, up to the time of his appointment as GOVERNOR OF INDIANA. It will be our duty to present the reader with a delineation equally rapid of his conduct and services in this capacity.

We have hitherto found him vigilant and brave in the field;

* "I nominate William Henry Harrison to be Governor of the Indiana Territory, from the 13th day of May next, when his present commission as Governor will expire
Signed, THOMAS JEFFERSON."

Executive Journal of the United States Senate, page 441.

faithful and wise in council: still the querulous may say, that in the former, he acted under the orders of his superiors; that in the latter, his course might have been controlled by his associates.

As Governor of Indiana, his situation was perfectly independent. While he held it, he was invested with immense powers—greater perhaps than had ever before been intrusted in the hands of one man under our government, excepting only Washington during the Revolutionary war. In the exercise of most of these powers, he was, in fact, responsible only to God and his conscience. We will briefly state what these powers were, and how they were exercised.

The territory thus committed to his charge, embraced the immense and fertile region of country known as Indiana Territory. It included what now constitute the great states of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, and the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. But the small population it then contained was thinly scattered through a vast wilderness, and only three white settlements of any note existed within its boundaries. One of these was at the seat of government, Vincennes, a small town originally built by the French, and beautifully and advantageously situated on the banks of the Wabash; the second, known as Clark's Grant, was at the Falls of the Ohio, nearly opposite Louisville, about one hundred miles from Vincennes; and the third was the French settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, near St. Louis, and more than two hundred miles distant from the seat of government. The communication between these remote points was, at all times, difficult and toilsome, and often attended with great danger. There existed no practicable roads, and nearly all the intermediate country was occupied by the Indians, or over-run by their hunting-parties. Most of these savage tribes, though professing to be friendly, were restless and dissatisfied; and their leading chiefs still nursed a moody hope of revenge for the mortifying defeat they had sustained, six years before, at the battle of the Maumee Rapids, in which Harrison had acted so conspicuous a part. Artful and treacherous, numerous, warlike and thirsting for plunder, they kept this remote frontier in continual excitement and alarm. The angry feelings of our hardy borderers were fre-

quently roused by some robbery or atrocious aggression, committed by the more evil-disposed among their savage neighbours, and quarrels often ensued, which threatened the peace of the entire community. Whole families were sometimes murdered in their sleep, and their humble cabins burnt to the ground!

Such was the existing state of things in Indiana Territory, when Captain Harrison was appointed to the administration of its government. As governor of a frontier territory so peculiarly situated, and beset by so many perils, he was invested with civil powers of the most important nature, as well as with military authority.

He was invested, in company with the Judges, with full legislative powers.

He had the appointment of all civil officers within the Territory, and all military officers inferior to a General.

He was Commander-in-chief of the Militia.

He possessed the absolute and uncontrolled power of pardoning all offences.

He was *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian affairs, and was appointed by THE WISE AND VIRTUOUS THOMAS JEFFERSON, *sole Commissioner of treaties with the Indians*, with *unlimited powers*.* He had the power of confirming, at his option, the titles of all grants of land. In fact, HIS SIGNATURE constituted a title to the lands of the Territory, without revision or inquiry from any quarter whatever.

These are the powers with which he was invested—powers which are not surpassed, if equalled, by those confided to any other individual, since the organization of our government, Washington alone excepted.

Let us inquire how they were exercised.

* "I nominate William Henry Harrison, of Indiana, to be a Commissioner *to enter into any treaty or treaties* which may be necessary, with any Indian tribes, north-west of the Ohio, and within the territory of the United States, on the subject of the boundary, or lands.

"Signed,

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

The message containing these nominations was transmitted to the Senate of the United States, on the 3d day of February, 1803, read on the 4th, and on the 8th taken up for consideration, when the nomination of William Henry Harrison, above recited, received the *unanimous* sanction of that honourable body.

They remained in his hands for thirteen years; during which time he administered the affairs of the Territory with so much wisdom, justice and disinterestedness, that a vigilant and keen-sighted political opposition has been unable to point out a single act of wrong or abuse, of any kind whatever.

The power of granting TITLES TO LAND was one peculiarly liable to abuse. A dexterous, selfish man, would have converted it into the instrument of amassing thousands, perhaps millions, for himself and his family, and then defied, as he could have done, all inquiry. HARRISON, on the contrary, was as poor on the day he left the Territory as he was when he entered it. As a disciple of the school of Jefferson, he could not, like some who claim popular favour, make his public situation subserve the purpose of private gain; as an officer, he could not prostitute his power; as a patriot, he could not sacrifice his country's good on the altar of an unhallowed cupidity. At the time of our writing, he is eating the bread of honest industry, on the banks of the Ohio, with no solace save that of a heart strong and cheerful in the consciousness of UNYIELDING INTEGRITY. Had he been avaricious or ambitious, he also might have ridden in his coach and four, covering with the dust of the highway, and spattering with the slaver of his steeds, his less fortunate democratic brethren. He also might have purchased, from the corrupt, with gold, those plaudits which the demagogue cannot wring from the admiration of the honest. He also might have bowed or knelt in a foreign court, among kings and dukes—been greeted by lords, and smiled on by ladies. But no! he preferred simple fare and laborious employment to wealth, rank and power, when purchased at the sacrifice of his honour. So rigid has been his honesty, that he has always refused to avail himself of his intimate knowledge of the country to speculate in lands; and to his honour be it said, he has never owned an acre of land the title of which could be traced to himself as Governor of Indiana. As Commissioner of treaties, he effected THIRTEEN of the most important treaties ever made. By them upwards of SIXTY MILLIONS OF ACRES of the finest land ever owned by the United States, were ceded to the government, and the aboriginal title finally extinguished. They are now worth at least ONE HUNDRED

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO THE GOVERNMENT, and, in THE HANDS OF FARMERS, at least TWENTY TIMES THAT SUM. These acres are far more valuable than bars of gold or filthy rags!

By one of these treaties with the Sacs and Foxes, he obtained the cession of the whole of that extensive and valuable region lying between the river Illinois and the Mississippi, with a northern boundary, stretching from the head of Fox river, to a point on the Wisconsin, thirty-six miles above its mouth. *And who has done more than this?* There lives not one who has effected a tenth part as much for his country! The wisest regulations of commerce, ever effected by one man, in point of national benefit, cannot be compared to these acts of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. Through his wisdom and prudence, the West was settled. He drew around our frontier a chain of hardy, intelligent, brave and enterprising spirits, which afforded a better security against the incursions of the savage, than would the famed iron defence of Louis XIV.

His speeches and messages, as Governor, whilst they display his wisdom and forecast, furnish the most finished and brilliant specimens of eloquence and composition. If collected with his other productions, they would fill several volumes.

In their frequent intercourse with Governor Harrison, the Indians had learned to respect his undaunted firmness, and were, at the same time, conciliated by his kindness of manner and considerate forbearance. This, with his intimate knowledge of the Indian character, is the true secret of the remarkable success that has uniformly attended every treaty he has attempted to negotiate.

The various and arduous duties of the Governor of Indiana, required for this office, a man of very superior abilities and qualifications, and of a rare temperament; one possessed of stern integrity and prudent moderation, with wisdom in the exercise of the extensive powers intrusted to him, accompanied by the most unwavering firmness. Such a man Governor Harrison, in the long course of his administration, fully proved himself to be. The plainest evidence that can be presented to those who are not familiar with the history of Indiana, during this eventful period, of the peculiar fitness of Governor Har

rison for this important station, of the confidence reposed in him, and of the great popularity he attained while in the exercise of so delicate a trust, is the unquestionable fact, that, for thirteen years, at every successive expiration of his term of office, he was re-appointed at the earnest solicitation of the people of the Territory, and with the public expression of the most flattering approbation on the part of our chief Executive. And this too, notwithstanding the changes which had taken place within that time, in the administration of the government. He was twice appointed by the immortal Jefferson, "the father of Democracy," and the author of the glorious Declaration of Independence, and again by Mr. Madison, the "champion of the Constitution."

The following extract from a resolution, unanimously passed by the House of Representatives of Indiana, in the year 1809, requesting the re-appointment of Governor Harrison, will show the estimate which a long acquaintance had taught them of his worth:—

"They (the House of Representatives) cannot forbear recommending to, and requesting of, the President and Senate, most earnestly in their own names, and in the names of their constituents, the re-appointment of their present governor, William Henry Harrison,—because he possesses the good wishes and affection of a great majority of his fellow citizens,—because they believe him sincerely attached to the Union, the prosperity of the United States, and the administration of its government,—because they believe him, in a superior degree, capable of promoting the interest of our territory, from long experience and laborious attention to its concerns, from his influence over the Indians, and wise and disinterested management of that department; and because they have confidence in his VIRTUES, TALENTS, and REPUBLICANISM."

One of the leading objects in the view of Harrison, whilst Governor, was the conciliation of the Aborigines. Jealousies and heart-burnings had grown out of the intercourse between the two races, differing as they did in every important characteristic and quality. The complaints of the Indians were constantly recurring. If the traders supplied them with rum, they furnished the means of destruction. If they withheld it, it was denounced as an arbitrary act, at once unjust and oppressive. The traders were denounced as cheats and liars; and the ministers of the Gospel of Peace, as invaders of their hereditary customs. This state of irritation continued until the year

1806, and as the transactions of this period led to the war of 1811, it may be proper to give a very brief account of them.

The plan of uniting the savage tribes, along the whole frontier, against the whites, had been repeatedly tried previous to this, but had always been defeated by the wisdom of Harrison. Tecumseh and the Prophet, who were brothers, and chiefs of the Shawanoese tribe, renewed the attempt with a better prospect of success. TECUMSEH was a savage of the first order of abilities. He was as wary and sagacious in council, as he was bold and impetuous in the execution of his designs—and to this was added a capacity for command of a very superior order. As an orator, he was fluent in expression, subtle in allusion, and acute in reasoning. He was accurately informed of the grievances and complaints of every tribe, familiar with all their passions and sympathies, and he used them with the utmost skill to subserve his ends.

The Prophet was remarkable for nothing but a low cunning, which sometimes distinguishes the savage character. He was not renowned in arms, nor had he accomplished any feats as a hunter. His name would have passed into oblivion, but for the lofty and daring character of his brother. Tecumseh found it necessary to enlist the superstition of the tribes in the promotion of his purpose. With this view, he affected to treat his brother as a being of a superior order, and by this artifice, succeeded completely in deceiving them.

Tecumseh advised the tribes to abstain from using the supplies furnished by the United States. This led to illicit trading accompanied by fraud, cheating, violence, and sometimes murder. Hostile incursions, on the part of the Indians, at length became frequent. Things remained in this state until the year 1811.

In September, 1809, Harrison concluded a treaty with the Delawares, Miamies, and Patawatamies, for the cession of a large tract of land on the Wabash. Tecumseh was absent when this treaty was ratified, and on his return refused to acknowledge it, alleging that the ceded land belonged to the Shawanoese. He threatened to kill the chiefs who had signed it, and declared his determination to prevent the lands from being surveyed and settled.

Governor Harrison, on being apprised of his proceedings, sent him a message, informing him "that any claims he might have to the lands which had been ceded, were not affected by the treaty; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be valid, that the land would either be relinquished, or an ample compensation made for it."* Accordingly, in the month of August, 1810, he came down to Vincennes, attended by several hundred warriors, although Harrison, having no confidence in the savage, had restricted the number to thirty. The meeting took place in front of the Governor's house, on a day appointed to hear the statement of Tecumseh, which it took him many hours to make. He alleged that the Great Spirit had made this continent for the use of the Indians exclusively; that the white people had no right to come here and take it from them; that no particular part of it was given to any tribe, but that the whole was the common property of all; and that any sale of lands made without the consent of all, was not valid. In his reply, the Governor observed, that the Indians, like the white people, were divided into different tribes or nations, and that the Great Spirit never intended that they should form but one nation, or he would not have taught them to speak different languages, which precluded them from understanding each other; and that the Shawanoes, who emigrated from Georgia, could have no claims to the lands on the Wabash, which had been occupied far beyond the memory of man by the Miamies. The Governor having proceeded thus far, sat down for the purpose of giving the interpreters time to explain what he had said, to the different tribes that were present. As soon as it was interpreted in Shawanoese, Tecumseh interrupted the interpreter, and said that it was "all false;" and giving a signal to his warriors, they seized their knives, tomahawks and war-clubs and sprang upon their feet.

For some minutes the Governor was in the most imminent danger. He, however, preserved that presence of mind for which he has ever been so much distinguished, and disengaging himself from an arm-chair in which he was seated, drew his

* See McAfee's History of the Late War, p. 12, from which these facts are obtained.

sword and met the grim savages with an undaunted front. The friendly chief Winnemack, cocked a pistol which he held in his hand. A considerable number of the citizens of Vincennes were present, all unarmed. Close at hand, however, there was a guard, composed of a sergeant and twelve men, who were immediately brought up by an officer. The savages quailed beneath the prompt and steady valour of Harrison. Tecumseh had expected an easy victim; but he found the Governor, although surrounded and surprised, as immovable as the earth on which he stood—equally incapable of rash violence or cowering fear. The moral influence of Harrison's position, and his unblenching front, subdued this wild son of the woods. He told Tecumseh that he was a bad man, and he would have no further intercourse with him; and directed him to retire to his camp, and set out immediately on his return home.

As the Indians with Tecumseh greatly outnumbered the citizens of the town and the regular troops there, two companies of militia were brought in during the night, and a large number the next day. Early, however, on the following morning, Tecumseh sent for the interpreter, apologised for his treachery, and earnestly requested that he might have another conference with the Governor. His request was at length granted; but the Governor took care to be attended by a number of his friends, well armed, and to have the troops in the town ready for action. In his speech on this occasion, Tecumseh said that he had been advised by some white persons to act as he had done at the former interview; but that it was not his intention to offer any violence to the Governor. Harrison then inquired whether he had any other grounds for claiming the lands. He answered that he *had not*. Governor Harrison then remarked to him, that so great a warrior should disdain to conceal his intentions; and desired to know whether he really designed to wage a war against the United States, if the lately purchased lands were not relinquished by them. He answered, that it was decidedly his determination, and that he would never bury the hatchet or intermit his labours, until he united all the tribes upon the continent into one grand confederacy, and the pale faces were compelled to yield to his demands. The council here ended, and Tecumseh withdrew.

CHAPTER III.

Combination of Hostile Indians on the Western Frontier—Insidious policy of Great Britain—Approach of war, and opposition to it—Harrison prepares for the contest—Embodies a force and marches into the Indian Territory—Reaches the Prophet's town—Treachery of the Prophet—Anecdote of General Harrison—**BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE**—Heroism of Harrison in the Battle—Testimonials of popular gratitude—Testimony of the illustrious Madison, &c.—Effects of the victory of Tippecanoe—Difficulties between England and the United States.

IMMEDIATELY after the council of Vincennes, the sagacious and blood-thirsty Tecumseh entered vigorously on the fulfilment of his menace made to Governor Harrison. It was his intention to avoid all hostilities with the whites, until he should effect a combination strong enough to resist them, or until the expected war with Great Britain should commence.* For this purpose he visited all the Northern and Southern tribes. His purpose was thwarted, however, by the watchful and gallant Harrison.

In the year 1811, it became obvious that the cloud of war which had so long darkened our Western frontier, must shortly burst, and pour its contents of fury and desolation upon the unprotected settlers.

The insidious enmity of the Indians, which had been kept alive and nourished so long by the sinister policy of England, began to assume a bolder aspect. Their murmurs were changed into threats, their complaints to vows of vengeful retribution. Great Britain also had strengthened the posts which she had retained in her possession, contrary to all good faith, and had placed Canada in a state of defence. Her outrages upon our commerce had become such as a brave nation could no longer palliate or excuse. The patience of the American people became at length exhausted; and throughout her wide domain, the DEMOCRACY of the land demanded a vindication of their rights. The prospect of war was viewed with enthusiasm in the West.

* McAfee's History of the Late War, p. 15.

Opposed to the DEMOCRACY OF THE COUNTRY, were a few discontented and restless spirits, who did every thing to weaken and cripple the administration of MR. MADISON, that a stubborn enforcement of their fallacious objections to a redress of our NATIONAL WRONGS, could accomplish. They stigmatised such men as JEFFERSON, MADISON, HARRISON, and JACKSON, as paid emissaries of Napoleon—sought to excite popular prejudice against them—to create a sympathy in behalf of England, whom they styled our “kind mother” and the “bulwark of our religion,” and to precipitate the nation into a war with France, our ancient ally, who had come to our aid in the dreariest hour of the Revolution. And when our country, roused by a sense of accumulated wrongs and injuries, became engaged in the second war of independence, struggling for her honour and her rights with a powerful foe, MARTIN VAN BUREN was found associated with those who endeavoured to *distract* and divide the *democratic party*, by introducing De Witt Clinton as a candidate for the Presidency, *in opposition* to the patriotic Madison.

But all these efforts proved unavailing. The PEOPLE, lashed into phrensy at the accumulated outrages of Britain, demanded of their Representatives an immediate commencement of hostilities.

GOVERNOR HARRISON, always foremost in the hour of his country's danger, applied to PRESIDENT MADISON for authority to prepare the Frontier for the approaching contest, stating to him the efforts of Tecumseh who was leagued with the British, and what would be the disastrous consequences if his design was permitted to be matured. An armed force was instantly furnished him from Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, but he was ordered “to abstain from hostilities, of any kind whatever, and to any degree not *indispensably required*.”

A more disadvantageous and trying position than that which Harrison occupied, cannot well be conceived. Before him, was arranged his enemy in open preparation for battle; behind him, lay a defenceless population, from which all the able-bodied men had been drafted, or had volunteered to form the army: on the right and left, stretched the forest, which it was impossible to guard, and through which the foe could, at any mo-

ment, fall back upon the unprotected settlers in the rear, and carry the torch and knife to the home and throats of every family. General Harrison had not the authority to attack. Until blood had stained the tomahawk, or the victim had writhed beneath the torture, he could not even unsheath his sword. Every advantage was conferred upon the enemy. In the defile of the mountain, on the plain, by night or by day, in detachments, or *en masse*, he might come on, when, where, and as he chose. But a brief period elapsed before the grossest outrages upon the settlers, afforded abundant cause to strike.

The genius of Harrison—"THE MAN WHO NEVER LOST A BATTLE," who has never yielded to his country's foes, was equal to this crisis; and by a master stroke of policy, he conquered every disadvantage, and moved down with an army of eight hundred men, upon the Prophet's town, where all the hostile Indians were assembled, and before Tecumseh had returned from his visit to the Southern Tribes.

As soon as it was known in Kentucky, that Harrison was authorized to march with an army against the Indians, a number of volunteers were eager to join his standard. Many of them were men of high standing at home, as military, civil and literary characters. Of this number were Samuel Wells, a Major General in former Indian wars; Joseph H. Davies, an eminent lawyer of great military ambition; Col. Owen, a veteran in the Indian war, Colonel Keiger and Messrs. Croghan, O'Fallon, Thipp, Chum and Edwards, who afterwards distinguished themselves as officers of the army of the United States.

In the latter part of September, 1811, Governor Harrison commenced his march up the Wabash, with a force of about eight hundred efficient men. The militia, who were all volunteers, had been trained with great assiduity and labour by the Governor in person. Conformably to his orders from the President, he halted within the boundary of the United States, and endeavoured, by the intervention of the Delaware and Miami tribes, to induce the Prophet, Tecumseh's brother, to deliver up the murderers, and the many horses which had been stolen from the white settlers. These messengers of peace were received and treated with great insolence by the Prophet and his council, and their demands rejected with disdain. To put

an end to all hopes of accommodation, a small war party was detached by the Prophet, for the purpose of commencing hostilities. This party fired upon the American sentinels, and wounded one of them severely. The Delaware chiefs informed the Governor that it was in vain to expect that any thing but force could obtain satisfaction for injuries committed, or security for the future. He learned also from the same source, that the strength of the Prophet was daily increasing by accessions of the ardent and giddy young men from every tribe.

So soon, therefore, as his little army had recovered from their sickness, occasioned by the exclusive use of fresh food, without vegetables and a sufficient quantity of bread, Harrison determined to proceed on to the Prophet's town. And here it is no more than justice that an incident should be related illustrative of the generous conduct of Governor Harrison, which endeared him so much to his troops, and rendered him the most popular commander ever engaged in the American service. Finding that his flour was inadequate to supply the army for any considerable period, he was compelled, in the early part of October, to put them on a half-allowance of that article. While the soldier in the line, however, was subjected to this privation, the Governor's table was not found supplied with luxuries. He required all the officers rigidly to conform to the same regulation, and *he was himself the first to adopt it.*

The Indians being perfect masters of ambuscading, every precaution was necessary during the progress of the army, to guard against surprise, and to prevent them from being attacked in a disadvantageous position. Our limits forbid us to accompany him on his dreary march through the wilderness, or to recount the many perils and adventures of the route. Compelled to ford streams, swollen by heavy rains, and in some instances filled with floating ice, and this too, on foot—for frequently did the Governor relinquish his horse to the sick or infirm soldier—to lie at night on the snow-covered earth, with his clothes and accoutrements on, or sit with his back against a tree, sleeping, with the reins of his horse clenched in his hand, momentarily expecting an attack;—these form but an imperfect sketch of the toils and privations to which the chivalrous Harrison and his gallant army were exposed.

On the 6th of November he discovered the Prophet's town, about five miles in advance of him. Captain Dubois was despatched with a flag to the Indians, accompanied by an interpreter, to ascertain from the Prophet whether he would now comply with the terms that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after, in the order of battle. In a few moments a messenger came from Captain Dubois, informing the Governor that the Indians were close to him, in great numbers, but that they would return no answer to the interpreter, although they were sufficiently near to hear what was said to them; and that upon his advancing, they persisted in their attempts to cut him off from the army. Governor Harrison, after this last effort to open a negotiation, which was sufficient to show his wish for an accommodation, resolved to hesitate no longer in treating the Indians as enemies. He therefore recalled Captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by three Indians, one of them a principal counsellor of the Prophet. They were sent, they said, to know why the army was advancing upon them; that the Prophet wished, if possible, to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Pottawatomie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the Governor; and that those chiefs had gone down on the south side of the Wabash, being the opposite shore of that traversed by the Governor and his army. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon; and a council was to take place the next day between Harrison and the chiefs, to concert terms of peace. The Governor further informed them that he would go on to the Wabash and encamp for the night.

As soon as they were gone, he told his officers that he knew, from their language and behaviour, that they intended to attack him before morning. Confident that this was the "*council*" they meditated, he encamped his army, as we shall presently see, in the order of battle, and directed his men to lie down with their clothes on, and their arms by their sides. His *predictions* soon became *history*.

After marching a short distance further, he came in view of the town, which was seen at some distance up the river, upon

a commanding eminence. The ground below the town being unfavourable for an encampment, the army marched on in the direction of the town, with the view of obtaining a better situation beyond it. A halt was soon ordered, and some officers sent to examine a creek that ran near the town, as well as the river above it. In half an hour Brigade Major Clarke and Major Taylor returned, and reported that they had found on the creek "every thing that could be desirable in an encampment—an elevated spot, nearly-surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient, and a sufficiency of wood for fuel. This place, with the concurrence of the Governor, was chosen by Majors Taylor and Clarke, after examining all the environs of the town; and when the army of General Hopkins was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion that a better spot to resist Indians was not to be found in the whole country."*

The army now proceeded to the place selected, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe, from which the subsequent battle derived its title, and encamped, late in the evening, on a dry piece of ground which rose about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank, being about eighty yards wide, was covered by Captain Spenser's company, of eighty men. The left flank was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen, under Major Wells. The front was composed of one battalion of United States Infantry, under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia infantry; and on the left, by one company of the same troops. The rear consisted of a battalion of United States infantry, under Captain Baen, commanding as Major, and four companies of militia infantry under Colonel Decker. The cavalry, under Daviess, were encamped in the rear of the front line. The encampment was not more than three-fourths of a mile from the town.

The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, (which his intimate knowledge of the Indian mode of warfare induced Governor Harrison to anticipate and provide against,) was for "each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards until

* McAfee's History of the Late War.

relieved.”* The dragoons were directed, in such a case, to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two Captain's commands of forty-two men and four non-commissioned officers each; and two subaltern's guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers: the whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

Before proceeding to a description of the celebrated battle which followed, we will pause to relate an incident which occurred the night before the victory that conferred so much glory upon American arms, and which happily illustrates the humanity and benevolence of Harrison's heart.

Ben, a negro who belonged to the camp, deserted and went over to the Indians, and entered into a conspiracy to assassinate Governor Harrison, at the time the savages commenced their attack. Being apprehended whilst lurking about the Governor's marquee, waiting an opportunity to accomplish his fell purpose, he was tried by a court martial and sentenced to be shot. The execution of this sentence was delayed for a short time, in consequence of the troops being engaged in fortifying the camp. In the mean time, the negro was put into Indian stocks, that is, a log split open, notches cut in it to fit the culprit's legs, the upper piece then laid on, and the whole firmly staked into the ground. The Governor interposed, and pardoned the culprit. The reason assigned by the Governor for his clemency was as follows: "The fact was, that I began to pity him, and could not screw myself up to the point of giving the fatal order. If he had been out of my sight, he would have been executed. The poor wretch lay confined before my fire, his face receiving the rain that occasionally fell, and his eyes constantly turned upon me as if imploring mercy. I could not withstand the appeal, and I determined to give him another chance for his life." This act of magnanimous lenity displays, in bright colours, the goodness of Harrison's heart; and proves that no elevation of rank can cause him to forget the feelings of his fellow men: resentment, if it dwelt in his bosom, yielded to the pleading of mercy.

* McAfee's History of the Late War, p. 28.

The men now busied themselves in fortifying the camp. This done, they retired to rest. Throughout the multitude who had lately been so active and busy, not a sound was heard save that of the sentinel as he paced his lonely round.

The night was dark and cloudy; the moon rose late, and was overcast with clouds, which discharged a drizzling rain.

*“It was the Governor’s invariable practice to be ready to mount his horse at a moment’s warning. On the morning of the 7th, he arose at a quarter before four o’clock, and sat by his fire conversing with the gentlemen of his mess, who were reclining on their blankets, waiting for the signal which in a few moments would have been given for the troops to turn out. The orderly drummer had been already roused for the reveillé. The moon had risen, but afforded little light in consequence of being overshadowed by clouds. It was the uniform usage of Governor Harrison to call up the troops an hour before day, and keep them under arms until it was light. After four o’clock, General Wells, Colonel Owen and Colonel Daviess had all risen and joined the Governor, who was on the point of issuing his orders for raising the army, when the treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries and kill them before they could fire: but one of the sentries discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass, and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a desperate charge upon the left flank. The guard in that quarter gave way and abandoned their officer, without making any resistance. Captain Barton’s company of regulars and Captain Keiger’s company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive; but the troops who had lain on their arms, were immediately prepared to receive, and gallantly resist the furious savage assailants. The manner of the attack was calculated to discourage and terrify the men; yet as soon as they could be formed and posted, they maintained their ground with desperate valour, though but very few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires in the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men.

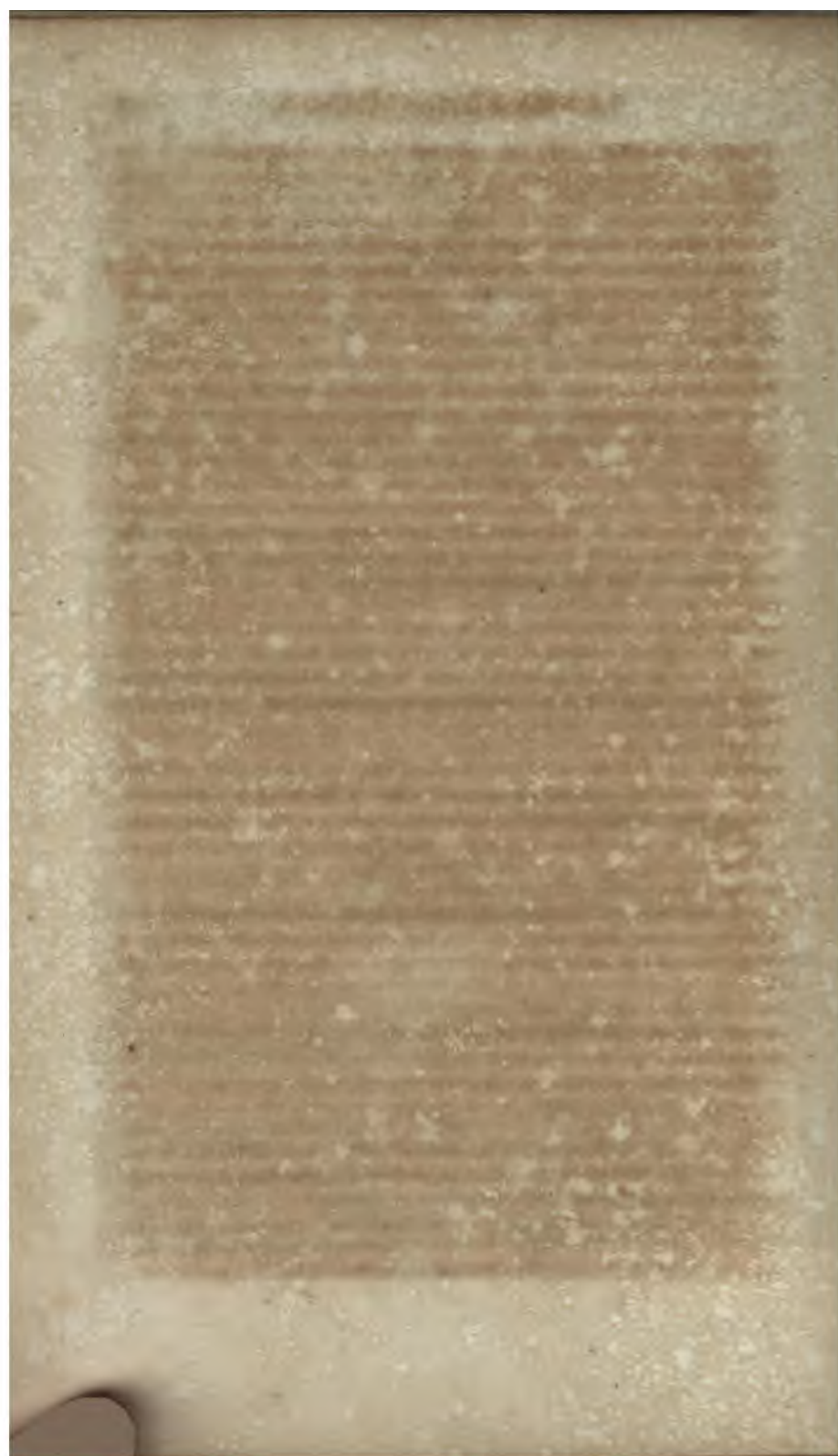
“As soon as the Governor could mount his horse, he proceeded towards the point of attack, and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the centre of the rear line to march up and form across the angle in the rear of Barton’s and Keiger’s companies. General Wells immediately proceeded to the right of his command; and Colonel Owen, who was with him, was proceeding directly to the point of attack, when he was shot on his horse near the lines, and thus bravely fell among the first victims of savage perfidy. A heavy fire now commenced all along the left flank, upon the whole of the front and right flank, and on a part of the rear line.

“In passing through the camp, towards the left of the front line, the Governor met with Colonel Daviess and the dragoons. The Colonel informed him that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the line, were annoying the troops very

* See McAfee’s History of the Last War, published in 1816, from which this description is taken; pp. 29—36.



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severely in that quarter; and he requested permission to dislodge them, which was granted. He immediately called on the first division of his cavalry to follow him, but the order was not distinctly heard, and but few of his men charged with him. Among those who charged, were two young gentlemen who had gone with him from Kentucky, Messrs. Mead and Sanders, who were afterwards distinguished as captains in the United States' service. They had not proceeded far out of the line, when Daviess was mortally wounded by several balls and fell. His men stood by him, and repulsed the savages several times, till they succeeded in carrying him into camp.

"In the mean time the attack on Spencer's and Warwick's companies on the right, became very severe. Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded. The Governor, in passing towards that flank, found Captain Robb's company near the centre of the camp. They had been driven from their post; or rather, had fallen back without orders. He sent them to the aid of Captain Spencer, where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. Captain Prescott's company of United States' infantry, had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Colonel Daviess was wounded, Captain Snelling, at the head of his company, charged on the same Indians and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valour. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer hoofs: they fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined on victory or death.

"As soon as daylight appeared, Captain Snelling's company, Captain Posey's, under Lieutenant Albright, and Captain Scott's, were drawn from the front line, and Wilson's from the rear, and formed on the left flank; while Cook's and Baen's companies were ordered to the right. General Wells took command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted and commanded by Captain Park, made a successful charge on the enemy in that direction, driving them into an adjoining swamp, through which the cavalry could not pursue them. At the same time Cook's and Lieutenant Laribie's companies, with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged on the Indians and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle.

"During the time of this contest, the Prophet kept himself secure, on an adjacent eminence, singing a war song. He had told his followers, that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unavailing, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while their enemies were involved in thick darkness. Soon after the battle commenced, he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted, and then began to sing louder.

"Colonel Boyd commanded as a Brigadier General in this engagement; and the Governor in his letter to the war department, speaks highly of him and his brigade, and of Clarke and Croghan who were his aids. Colonel Decker is also commended for the good order in which he kept his command: and of General Wells, it is said, that he sustained the fame which he had acquired in almost every campaign since the first settlement of Kentucky.

"The officers and soldiers generally, performed their duties well. They acted with a degree of coolness, bravery, and good order, which was not to be expected from men unused to carnage, and in a situation so well calculated to produce terror

and confusion. The fortune of war necessarily put it in the power of some officers and their men, at the expense of danger, wounds, and death, to render more service, and acquire more honour, than others: but to speak of their particular merits, would be to detail again the operations of the conflict.

"Of Colonels Owen and Daviess, the Governor speaks in the highest terms. Owen joined him as a private in Keiger's company at FORT HARRISON, and accepted the place of volunteer aid. He had been a representative in the legislature of Kentucky. His character was that of a good citizen and a brave soldier. He left a wife and a large family of children, to add the poignancy of domestic grief to the public regret for his loss.

"Captain Baen, who fell early in the action, had the character of an able officer and a brave soldier. Captain Spencer was wounded in the head—he exhorted his men to fight on. He was then shot through both thighs and fell—still he continued to encourage his men. He was then raised up, and received a ball through his body which immediately killed him. His lieutenants, McMahan and Berry, fell bravely encouraging their men. Warwick was shot through the body, and was taken to the surgery to be dressed: as soon as it was over, being a man of much bodily strength and still able to walk, he insisted on going back to his post, though it was evident he had but a few hours to live. Colonel White, formerly United States agent at the Saline, was also killed in the action. The whole number killed, with those who died soon of their wounds, was upwards of fifty: the wounded were about double that number. Governor Harrison himself narrowly escaped, *the hair on his head being cut by a ball.*

"The Indians left thirty-eight warriors dead on the field, and buried several others in the town, which with those who must have died of their wounds, would make their loss at least as great as that of the Americans. The troops under the command of Governor Harrison of every description, amounted on the day before the battle, to something more than eight hundred. The ordinary force, that had been at the Prophet's town, through the preceding summer, was about four hundred and fifty. But they were joined a few days before the action, by all the Kickapoos of the Prairie, and by many bands of Pottawatamies from the Illinois river, and the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan. They estimated their number after the battle, to have been eight hundred; but the traders, who had a good opportunity of knowing, made them at least fourteen hundred. However it is certain, that no victory was ever before obtained over the Northern Indians, where the numbers were any thing like equal. The number of killed too was greater than was ever before known. It is their custom always to avoid a close action, and from their dexterity in hiding themselves, but few of them can be killed, even when they are pouring destruction into the ranks of their enemy. It is believed that there were not ten of them killed at St. Clair's defeat, although one thousand Americans were massacred, and still fewer at Braddock's. At Tippecanoe, they rushed up to the bayonets of our men, and in one instance, related by Captain Snelling, an Indian adroitly put the bayonet of a soldier aside, and clove his head with his war-club—an instrument on which there is fixed a triangular piece of iron, broad enough to project several inches from the wood. Their conduct on this occasion, so different from what it usually is, was attributed to the confidence of success, with which their Prophet had inspired them, and to the distinguished bravery of the Winebago warriors.

"The Indians did not determine to attack the American camp till late at night

The plan that was formed the evening before, was, to meet the Governor in council the next day, and agree to the terms he proposed. At the close of the council, the chiefs were to retire to the warriors, who were to be placed at a convenient distance. The Governor was then to be killed by two Winebagoes, who had devoted themselves to certain death to accomplish this object. They were to loiter about the camp after the council had broken up; and their killing the Governor and raising the war-whoop, were to be the signal for a general attack. The Indians were commanded by White Loon, Stone-eater, and Winemac, a Pottawatamie chief, who had been with the Governor on his march, and at Fort Harrison, making great professions of friendship.

"The 4th regiment was about two hundred and fifty strong; and there were about sixty volunteers from Kentucky in the army. The rest of the troops were volunteers from the Indiana militia. Those from the neighbourhood of Vincennes had been trained for several years by the Governor, and had become very expert in the manœuvres which he had adopted for fighting the Indians. The greater part of the territorial troops followed him as well from personal attachment as from a sense of duty. INDEED, A GREATER DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE AND PERSONAL ATTACHMENT HAS RARELY BEEN FOUND IN ANY ARMY TOWARDS ITS COMMANDER, THAN EXISTED IN THIS; NOR HAS THERE BEEN MANY BATTLES IN WHICH THE DEPENDENCE OF THE ARMY ON ITS LEADER WAS MORE DISTINCTLY FELT. During the whole action the Governor was constantly on the lines, and always repaired to the point which was most hardly pressed. The reinforcements drawn occasionally from the points most secure, were conducted by himself, and formed on the spot where their services were most wanted. The officers and men, who believed that their ultimate success depended on his safety, *warmly remonstrated against his so constantly exposing himself.* Upon one occasion, as he was approaching an angle of the line, against which the Indians were advancing with horrible yells, Lieutenant Emerson of the dragoons, seized the bridle of his horse, and earnestly entreated that he would not go there; *but the Governor putting spurs to his horse, pushed on to the point of attack, where the enemy were received with firmness and driven back.*

"The army remained in the camp on the 7th and 8th of November, to bury the dead and dress the wounded; and to make preparations for returning. During this time, General Wells was permitted with the mounted riflemen to visit the town, which he found evacuated by all, except a chief whose leg was broken. The town was well prepared for an attack, and no doubt but the Indians fully expected it; for they had determined to agree to no terms which could be offered. The wounds of the chief being dressed, and provision made for him, he was left with instructions to tell his companions that if they would abandon the Prophet and return to their respective tribes, they should be forgiven."

The victory of TIPPECANOE was one of the most important conflicts which ever occurred between the Indians and the whites. The Indian forces far excelled the American army in number; yet notwithstanding this, and their attempted surprise, they were totally routed by the gallantry, courage and consummate generalship of Harrison.

The high sense entertained by the government of the im

portance of this victory, is emphatically expressed in a message from the President to Congress, dated December 18th, 1811.

"While it is deeply to be lamented," says Mr. Madison, "that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 9th ult., Congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valour and discipline."

Resolutions were also passed by the Legislatures of Indiana and Kentucky of a similar import. The following is the resolution of the latter body, on motion of the Hon. J. J. Crittenden, now a distinguished member of the United States Senate.

"Resolved, That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor William Henry Harrison has, in the opinion of this Legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot and a General; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful and gallant conduct in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation."

The panegyric thus conferred was richly merited, as nothing could exceed the daring with which he exposed his person, at those points where the battle raged most hotly. Well known to many of the Indians, and the object of their peculiar attack, his fearlessness and unshrinking exposure, make it appear almost a miracle that he should have escaped unwounded. In some instances, as stated by McAfee in the extract we have before made from his work, this exposure was so great as to demand the urgent interference of his officers—a circumstance which has occurred to no other officer of whom we have ever read, except WASHINGTON, at Long Island. In referring to the personal intrepidity of Governor Harrison, we cannot refrain from making the following extracts from a private journal published in Keene, New Hampshire, by Adam Walker, a private soldier who fought in this battle, and who could have had no interested motives for his publication.

"General Harrison," he says, "received a shot through the rim of his hat. In the heat of the action, his voice was frequently heard, and easily distinguished, giving his orders in the same calm, cool and collected manner, with which we had been used to receive them on drill or parade. The confidence of the troops in the General was unlimited."

The same intelligent writer, in speaking of Harrison's kindness to the soldiers, and his influence over them, remarks,

"He appeared not disposed to detain any man against his inclination; being endowed by nature with a heart as humane as brave, in his frequent addresses to the militia, his eloquence was formed to persuade; appeals were made to reason as well as to feeling, and never were they made in vain."

On the return of Governor Harrison, the Speaker of the Legislature of Indiana, General William Johnson, thus addressed him :—

“The House of Representatives of the Indiana territory, in their own name, and in behalf of their constituents, most cordially reciprocate the congratulations of your Excellency on the glorious result of the late sanguinary conflict with the Shawnee Prophet, and the tribes of Indians confederated with him; when we see displayed in behalf of our country, not only the *consummate abilities of the General*, but the *heroism of the man*; and when we take into view the benefits which must result to that country from those exertions, we cannot, for a moment, withhold our meed of applause.”

The gallant Colonel Daviess, who, as has been already mentioned, fell at the battle of Tippecanoe, stated in a letter written a short time before his death,—

“I make free to declare that I have imagined there were two military men in the West, and GENERAL HARRISON IS THE FIRST OF THE TWO.”

Soon after the battle, thirteen of the principal officers of the army, issued an address, in which they declared, that

“Should our country again require our services to oppose a civilized or savage foe, WE SHOULD MARCH UNDER GENERAL HARRISON WITH THE MOST PERFECT CONFIDENCE OF VICTORY AND FAME.”

THE VICTORY OF TIPPECANOE was hailed throughout the country with joy, and every demonstration of gratitude to the invincible Harrison. The hardy yeomanry of the West permitted no limits to be imposed on their rejoicing. It was celebrated in every town, village, bar-room, and hamlet, in the valley of the Ohio, and there were few firesides but burnt brighter and more cheerfully, as the honest housewife congratulated herself and children on their escape from the fagot, the vengeful scalping knife, or reeking tomahawk, of the grim monsters of the woods.

The effect of the victory of Tippecanoe, was the immediate dispersion of the hostile bands of barbarians, who had heretofore hung on the Western frontier. The various tribes denounced Tecumseh, and disclaimed all connexion with him, and shortly afterwards sent eighty deputies* to Governor Har-

* These deputies promised to deliver the Prophet into the hands of the United States, as soon as they could catch him, and went away, resolved, as McAfee remarks, “not to commit hostilities again, until a favourable opportunity offered.” Tecumseh appeared at Fort Wayne during the following winter, (1811-12,) and by his complaints against General Harrison, bore an unwilling but sincere testimony to his

rison, to treat for peace, on the terms of total submission. Far different would have been the scene had the Prophet triumphed ; towns would have been sacked, hamlets burned, and the peaceful tenement of the settler offered up a sacrifice to savage fury.

During the time the events which we have just related, were transpiring, a crisis had arisen in the national intercourse between Great Britain and the United States. We have elsewhere stated that she still continued to hold some of the most important fortresses on the frontier ; that she had placed the Canadas in such a situation as to use them for offensive or defensive operations, as circumstances might require ; she had also committed unprovoked depredations on our commerce. The hour for retribution was now fast approaching. The spirit of the people had been aroused, and nothing short of an open declaration of war could allay it. Of the circumstances which led to the Declaration of War, Tecumseh was doubtlessly apprized. Accordingly we find that he instantly renewed those intrigues among the Indians for which he had been so celebrated. The result was, that their minds, at all times fickle, became again influenced with a sanguinary desire for slaughter. The aid which had been afforded, and the alliance which was now tendered to them, by their British brethren, settled the wavering, and determined the doubtful ; and we find them, in the war which followed, at all times companions with the latter in arms, and scarcely excelling them in their bloody vengeance.

greatness. He then demanded ammunition, which the commandant refusing, he threatened to "go to his British father" for it : after spending a few moments, in a moody silence, he uttered the war-whoop and disappeared in the forest.

CHAPTER IV.

Declaration of War—Reliance on Harrison—Treason of Hull—Disastrous state of the contest—Harrison appointed to the command of the Kentucky forces—Arrival of Harrison at Fort Wayne—Indians retire at his approach—General Winchester appointed—Discontent of the army—Winchester superseded—Harrison commissioned by Madison—Great powers conferred on him—Attachment and devotion of the troops to Harrison—Commences vigorous operations—Massacre at the River Raisin—Occasioned by a disobedience of Harrison's orders—Renewed efforts of defence—The army encamped at Fort Meigs—Investment of Fort Meigs by the British and Indians—Anecdotes of Harrison—Gallant defence of Fort Meigs—Admirable and successful military stratagem—Heroism of Harrison—The enemy repulsed.

WAR against Great Britain was declared on the 18th of June, 1812. The interval between the battle of Tippecanoe, and the declaration of war, was spent by Governor Harrison in putting the frontier in a state of defence. Interviews with him were solicited by the governors of most of the Western States, in which measures were projected for enrolling and equipping troops, and preparing the munitions of war for the approaching conflict.

Conscious of his great abilities and experience, and the universal confidence reposed in his military skill, by the entire population of the West, they placed the utmost reliance on his counsels, and looked to him as the only leader under whom they could confidently expect success against the common enemy. Having aided Governor Edwards in placing the frontier of Illinois in a posture of defence, he was soon after invited by Governor Scott of Kentucky, a distinguished revolutionary officer, to a conference in relation to the Kentucky troops, which had been raised for the defence of the frontier. He complied with the invitation, and met Governor Scott at Frankfort; where he was received with enthusiastic and tumultuary acclamations by the people, and with the highest civil and military honours. These signal marks of the ardent attachment and unbounded confidence of the people whom he had so triumphantly defended from the hostile savages, who me-

naced all the frontier settlements with destruction by the fagot or the scalping knife, were soon after followed by still more flattering proofs of their high admiration and regard for his patriotism, abilities and military prowess.

It was obvious that the first blow of the enemy would fall on the West, but with a chivalry truly characteristic, it neither murmured nor faltered, but equipped for the field. We will not pause to narrate the disasters of the campaign under Hull. Chicago and Mackinaw were taken by the enemy. Detroit shortly after fell by treason, and throughout the whole frontier, the mortification of defeat was rendered more poignant by the prospect of a wide-spread savage slaughter. Shortly before the fall of Detroit, letters were received from the army, stating their total want of confidence in the capacity and integrity of Hull. (See McAfee's History of the War, pages 84 and 85. Letter from Cass, the late Secretary of War.)

"These letters," says McAfee, "also declared it to be the COMMON WISH OF THE ARMY THAT GOVERNOR HARRISON SHOULD ACCOMPANY THE EXPECTED REINFORCEMENT."

HARRISON was justly regarded at the time as the most capable, as well as the most popular General in the West. His courage and daring at Tippecanoe, had given him a high place in the affections of the people.

Governor Scott had levied an armed force of more than five thousand militia and volunteers, commanded by some of the ablest men and most experienced officers in the state. Two thousand of these troops were ordered for immediate service; and they had no sooner learned that they were destined to march to the aid of their countrymen on the frontier, than they at once unanimously expressed the most earnest desire to be placed under the command of Governor Harrison. This feeling was responded to by the great mass of the people throughout the state. The laws of Kentucky, however, would not permit any other than a citizen to hold a command in the state militia. In this dilemma, Governor Scott consulted with the venerable Shelby, (the governor elect,) and other distinguished citizens of the state,* and by their unanimous advice

* A caucus was called on the subject of the appointment. "At this caucus, composed of General Shelby, the Honourable Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of

he gave Harrison a brevet commission of Major-General in the Kentucky militia, with express authority to take command of the gallant troops about to march to the frontier. This was a bold and unprecedented measure, but one that gave unbounded satisfaction to both soldiers and citizens, and one fully justified by the peculiar exigencies of the case. This unexpected proceeding on the part of Governor Scott and the authorities of Kentucky, conveyed a eulogy on the various military acts of the chivalrous Harrison such as no words can express. It speaks volumes in favour of his unexampled popularity and high military reputation, enjoyed among a bold and gallant people, boasting an unusual proportion of distinguished and able men.

Shortly afterwards he marched for the seat of war, at the head of seven thousand Kentuckians—as gallant and chivalric a band as ever rallied beneath the banner of freedom. It was composed of men of the greatest intelligence and influence in the state. The hardy yeoman marched shoulder to shoulder with the lawyer who had aided in the administration of justice, or the physician whose skill had relieved the diseases of his children. Even the sacred ministers of God closed the volume of gospel news, extinguished the fire on the altar, and bidding the army “God speed!” swept on to meet the foe. Such were the men who had enrolled themselves beneath the flag of HARRISON.

Harrison had not proceeded far in his march when he was informed that Winchester had been appointed by the War Department, who were ignorant of the proceedings in Kentucky, to the command of the troops. This information was received with murmurs of indignation throughout the army. The revolutionary veteran, Shelby, immediately wrote to the

Representatives in Congress, the Honourable Thomas Todd, Judge of the Federal Court, &c. &c., it was unanimously resolved to give Harrison a brevet commission of Major-General in the Kentucky militia, and authorize him to take command. The appointment received the general approbation of the people, and was hailed by the troops of Cincinnati with the utmost enthusiastic joy.”—*McAfee's History of the Last War*, p. 108.

General Harrison appointed the Hon. R. M. Johnson, now Vice-President of the United States, one of his aids.—*Ib.* p. 109.

Secretary of War, remonstrating against any change by which Harrison should be superseded, as destructive of the objects of the campaign. HARRISON, however, yielding up his own elevation, and the appointment of Brigadier-General in the service of the United States, which was at the same time tendered him, a sacrifice to his country's good, submitted to the dictate of authority, and pressed forward with haste to the relief of Fort Wayne, which had been for ten days besieged by the Indians.

The news of his approach had gone before him; and on his arrival, the savages dispersed without hazarding a battle. Such indeed was his reputation for invincible skill and gallantry, that a writer of that day observes, "HARRISON'S PRESENCE INSPIRES EVERY PERSON WITH COURAGE, AND MAKES EVEN COWARDS BRAVE." This reputation alone spared the effusion of human blood at Fort Wayne. Shortly after Harrison arrived at Fort Wayne, General Winchester, an old and meritorious revolutionary officer, came to take command of the troops. But the reputation of Winchester did not satisfy them with him as a substitute for their FAVOURITE GENERAL. Loud murmurs ran through the camp, and some openly refused to submit to the change. So great was the discontent, that nothing short of Harrison's disinterested and magnanimous efforts could reconcile them to their new commander: they finally submitted, but under a promise that Harrison should be restored to them as soon as the War Department could be heard from. McAfee, in his History of the Last War, remarks:—

"The troops had confidently expected that General Harrison would be confirmed in the command; and by this time he had completely received the confidence of every soldier in the army. He was affable and courteous in his manners, and indefatigable in his attention to every branch of business. His soldiers seemed to anticipate the wishes of their General: it was only necessary to be known that he wished something done, and all were anxious to risk their lives in its accomplishment. His men would have fought better and suffered more with him, than with ANY OTHER GENERAL IN AMERICA: and whatever might have been the merits of General Winchester, it was certainly an unfortunate arrangement which transferred the command to him at this moment. It is absolutely necessary that militia soldiers should have great confidence in their General, if they are required either to obey with great promptness, or to fight with bravery. The men were at last reconciled to march under Winchester, but with a confident belief that Harrison would be placed in the command; which accordingly was done, as soon as the War Department was

informed of his appointment in the Kentucky troops, and his popularity in the western country."

For no sooner was President Madison made aware of the discontent in the army, and of the almost unanimous wishes of the western people, than he immediately appointed Harrison, in the place of Winchester, commander of the North-Western army.

A letter was addressed to General Harrison by the immortal Perry, about the time of the appointment of Winchester to the command, from which we make the following extract :

"You know what has been my opinion as to the future commander-in-chief of the army. I pride myself not a little, I assure you, on seeing my predictions so near being verified. Yes, my dear friend, I expect soon to hail you as THE CHIEF WHO IS TO REDEEM THE HONOUR OF OUR ARMS IN THE NORTH."

General McArthur, who had also served under General Harrison, addressed his friend and old commander on the subject, in which he remarked :—

"YOU, SIR, STAND THE HIGHEST WITH THE MILITIA OF THIS STATE OF ANY GENERAL IN THE SERVICE, and I am confident that NO MAN CAN FIGHT THEM TO SO GREAT ADVANTAGE ; and I think their extreme solicitude may be the means of calling you to this frontier."

On retiring from the army, after Winchester's appointment, General Harrison hastened homeward to resume his duties as Governor of Indiana. He had proceeded part of the way, when he received a despatch from the Secretary of War, of which the following is an extract.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, September 17, 1812.

"Sir,—The President is pleased to assign to you the command of the north-western army, which in addition to the regular troops and rangers in that quarter, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio, and three thousand from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force ten thousand men."

After having stated the objects of the campaign, the despatch proceeds :

"WITH THESE OBJECTS IN VIEW, YOU WILL COMMAND SUCH MEANS AS MAY BE PRACTICABLE, EXERCISE YOUR OWN DISCRETION, AND ACT IN ALL CASES ACCORDING TO YOUR OWN JUDGMENT. Very respectfully, &c.

"W. EUSTIS.

"Brig. Gen. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

The power thus conferred on General Harrison was greater than had ever been exercised by any commander, excepting only WASHINGTON and GREEN. It was equalled only by that which he had exercised in a *civil capacity*, with so much credit to himself and advantage to the government.

President Madison, in communicating to Congress, November, 1812, the preparations for defence, which had been made, stated that "an ample force from the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, is placed, with the addition of a few regulars, under the command of General HARRISON, who POSSESSES THE ENTIRE CONFIDENCE OF HIS FELLOW SOLDIERS, among whom are citizens, some of them volunteers in the ranks, not less distinguished by their political stations than by their personal merits."

THIS EXTENSIVE COMMAND WAS CONFERRED BY JAMES MADISON, a democrat of the Jefferson school, and one of the purest patriots that ever breathed. Nor was it given without a full knowledge of the merits of the recipient. Mr. Madison entered upon the duties of Secretary of State under Thomas Jefferson, in the year 1801, shortly after Harrison had been appointed Governor of Indiana. They had served together through the whole of Jefferson's administration; and the Secretary of State must have been familiar with the manner in which the duties of Governor of Indiana had been discharged. Nothing but an exalted sense of Harrison's worth and abilities, could have induced the appointment. We will only add that he remained in office under Mr. Madison, till near the expiration of his term of service.

Immediately on receiving this appointment, General Harrison proceeded at once to the command of the army, which he found in a state of almost open rebellion. His arrival, which occurred at night, was unknown to the army. Early in the morning he had them paraded, and unexpectedly presented himself before them. The effect was electrical. Every voice was raised in long and loud applause, and a general enthusiasm pervaded the camp. With characteristic happiness he seized this moment to reconcile them to their duty, and made them a patriotic and spirit stirring speech, in which he reminded them of their obligations to themselves, their families, and their country. Their instant return to duty proved that they were dissatisfied with their former Commander, and not the service in which they had engaged. The universal and devoted personal attachment entertained for General Harrison, by every species of troops who served under him—their unlimited confidence in his courage,

skill, and great capacity for command—will remind the reader of the same peculiarity in the career of the immortal "FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY." It was this feeling among the People throughout the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and the services and ennobling traits in the character of Harrison, which won for him the proud title of "THE WASHINGTON OF THE WEST." During the whole period of his military services, amidst all the privations, toils and sufferings of a war carried on in an uninhabited country, covered with swamps and woods, he never caused a soldier to be punished. Yet no General ever commanded the confidence, admiration and obedience of the militia to a greater extent. When asked by a fellow officer how he managed to gain the control over his troops which he possessed, he answered,

"By treating them with affection and kindness—by always recollecting that they were my fellow-citizens, whose feelings I was bound to respect, and sharing, on every occasion, the hardships they were obliged to undergo."

Harrison now commenced exertions to forward supplies for the expedition against Malden. It was at this time he suggested to Mr. Madison the creation of a navy on the Lakes; and to him, as the author of this measure, is to be ascribed, the subsequent victories, by which the fame of our gallant navy has been rendered immortal. The project of a fleet on Lake Erie, was at once undertaken at his instance, in consequence of the unbounded confidence of Mr. Madison in the great military talents and prudence of Harrison.

Owing to the advanced state of the season, nothing of importance was effected during this campaign. Harrison, however, spent every hour of his time in laborious preparations for the ensuing summer,—in erecting forts, creating depots and cutting roads through the wilderness; in fine, in preparing the face of the country for active operations.

The duties that now devolved on General Harrison were arduous beyond description. The troops under his command, though brave, were either volunteers for a limited period of time, or inexperienced and undisciplined recruits; and the army was badly equipped, and nearly destitute of baggage and military stores. With these inadequate means, and under these unfavourable circumstances, he was required to defend an im

mense extent of frontier, stretching along the shores of the great northern lakes, whose numerous harbours and rivers were easy of access to the enemy. In addition to this, the roads leading to those points which most required defence, were nearly impassable, and lay, for hundreds of miles, through a wilderness swarming with hostile Indians, and through gloomy and dangerous swamps, where the troops, though little encumbered with baggage, could advance but slowly and with great labour. But under all these difficulties, the spirits of the soldiers were sustained by the presence and example of their favourite commander, who animated them in their fatigues, and cheerfully endured the same hardships and privations which they encountered.

The published accounts of our recent war with the Seminoles in Florida, the disastrous details of which have been made but too familiar to us, will convey to our readers some idea of the peculiar dangers and difficulties of this campaign, and of the skill and fortitude required to overcome them. In either case, we were opposed by the same savage foe, and the country was almost inaccessible from the same causes—its unhealthiness at that season of the year, and its extensive and treacherous swamps, the passes through which were known only to the hostile Indians, by whom they were occupied;—with perhaps, in the two cases, but this difference only, that the northern Indians are well known to be much fiercer and more formidable warriors than their southern brethren; and that, during the whole of this campaign, they were kept constantly supplied by the British with more effective arms and ammunition.

It was at this time that the massacre at the river Raisin, so memorable in the annals of blood, occurred. Winchester, who was now subordinate to Harrison, had been ordered by the General to fall back to Fort Jennings, as the latter had received information that Tecumseh was in his vicinity, with an overwhelming force of Indians. Instead of obeying this order, Winchester sent Colonel Lewis with six hundred men forward to the river Raisin, to protect the farms. Lewis in turn exceeded his orders, and pushed forward to Frenchtown, only eighteen miles from Malden. He there attacked and routed the combined British and Indian forces, and with the greatest gallantry drove

them two miles at the point of the bayonet. Had he now retired, all would have been well; but he resolved to hold Frenchtown, and of this resolution Winchester unfortunately approved. The British, hearing of the defeat of their men, sent down large reinforcements from Malden. Winchester also came up to the aid of Lewis. The British commenced a furious assault, by which Winchester's line was broken and scattered. The Indians, taking advantage of this, gained the flank, overpowered the remaining forces, and commenced a most horrible butchery. One hundred and twenty prisoners were slaughtered in one spot. Graves, who commanded the remaining division of the army, surrendered; on Proctor's pledge of security for himself and men. A few men were marched to Malden; THE REMAINDER WERE DELIVERED OVER TO THE TENDER MERCIES OF THE REMORSELESS SAVAGES, AND WERE ALL BUTCHERED, WITH THE KNOWLEDGE AND APPROBATION OF PROCTOR. For this courageous and humane act, Proctor was promoted.*

The defeat of Winchester, and the foul massacre at the river Raisin, produced great excitement throughout the western country. It was the result of General Winchester's departure from the express commands of General Harrison. Had the former fallen back on Fort Jennings, as he was directed by Harrison, the immense effusion of innocent blood, and the discredit of a surrender, would have been spared. Lewis, who in turn disregarded Winchester's orders, by marching to Frenchtown, was also in part responsible for the lamentable consequences. The efforts of General Harrison to correct the errors of Winchester, and avert the catastrophe which followed, were almost superhuman, and displayed the irrepressible energies and dauntless spirit of a matchless soldier.

On the evening that General Harrison received—not from Winchester, but indirectly—the intelligence of General Winchester's contemplated movement against the enemy on the river Raisin, he immediately despatched an express to the Rapids for further information. Apprehensive of some disaster, and fearing that it was too late to prevent the design of

* See McAfee, Niles' Register, and the Journals of the day, for particulars.

Winchester from being attempted, he gave orders for a corps of three hundred men to hasten on with the artillery, and for escorts to advance without delay, with provisions and military stores. Not satisfied, however, with these arrangements, *the next morning he proceeded himself* to Lower Sandusky, at which place he arrived the following night; *having travelled a distance of forty miles in seven hours and a half, over roads requiring such exertion to pass them, that the horse of his aid, Major Hakill, fell dead, from fatigue and exhaustion, on their arrival at the fort.*

He found there, that General Perkins had prepared to send a battalion to the Rapids, in conformity with a request from General Winchester. The battalion was despatched the next morning, the 18th, with a piece of artillery; but so bad were the roads, that it was unable, by its utmost exertions, to reach the river Raisin, a distance of seventy-five miles, before the fatal defeat.

General Harrison now determined to proceed to the Rapids himself, to learn personally from General Winchester, his situation and views. There was but one regiment and a battalion at Lower Sandusky. The regiment was immediately put in motion with orders to make forced marches for the Rapids, while General Harrison himself immediately proceeded to the same place.

His anxiety to push forward, and either prevent or remedy any misfortune which might occur, as soon as he was apprized of the advance to the river Raisin, was so great, that he started in a sleigh, with General Perkins, to overtake the battalion under Cotgreve, attended only by a single servant. As the sleigh went very slowly, from the roughness of the road, *he took the horse of his servant and pushed on alone.* Night came upon him in the midst of the swamp, which was so imperfectly frozen, that his horse sank to the saddle-girths at every step. He had then no resource but *to dismount and lead his horse, jumping himself from one sod to another!* When almost exhausted with the cold and fatigue, the General overtook one of Cotgreve's men, by whose assistance he was enabled to reach the camp of the battalion.

This is but one of many similar incidents in the eventful and

glorious career of that truly great man, which evinced, not by empty and high sounding words, but by personal sacrifices and perils, his devoted love of country, its interests, honour, and glory. While the puny aspirants for the applause of the city ball-room, who now affect to sneer at the mighty deeds of valour performed by Harrison, were luxuriously reclining in their arm-chairs before a blazing fireside, thus was the veteran whom they pretend to ridicule, ranging the forests of the frontier, alone and on foot, at night, and in the dead of winter, in pursuit of the enemies of his country. While the highly-scented fopling—whose highest ambition is to “caper nimbly in a lady’s chamber,” but who essays to jeer and laugh at the gray hairs of the aged soldier, and to denounce him as “the tenant of a log cabin, drinking his cup of hard cider,”—was hugged closer to his mother’s breast, as the scenes of horror enacting on the frontier were recounted, the gallant Harrison was baring his breast to the tomahawk of the savage, who, but for his arm, would have carried death, prolonged by torture, and desolation, aggravated by atrocities at which the heart shudders, to every fireside in the west!

Very early on the morning of the 26th, General Harrison arrived at the Rapids, from which place General Winchester had gone, on the preceding evening, with all his disposable force, to the river Raisin. On the same day, by a forced march Cotgreve’s battalion reached the Rapids, and was without delay, hurried on with two pieces of artillery to the aid of Winchester. On the evening of the 21st, three hundred Kentuckians, who had been left behind by Winchester, as a garrison, were likewise ordered to march to Frenchtown. The next day intelligence reached the Rapids of Proctor’s attack on Winchester’s camp, and General Harrison instantly ordered the whole force at that station to be pushed on with all possible expedition, and himself hastened forward to the scene of danger. They were soon, however, met by fugitives from the field of battle, from whom they learned the total defeat of Winchester’s forces. A council was held of general and field officers, by whom it was decided that it would be imprudent and useless to advance any further. Strong parties were sent out to protect the fugi

tives from the field of battle and from Frenchtown, and the remainder of the troops returned to the Rapids.

Thus was every thing done by General Harrison to avert the fatal disaster which he had apprehended from the disobedience, by Winchester, of his orders. This expedition of General Winchester to the river Raisin, was highly imprudent, not to say absolutely culpable, since he advanced within eighteen miles of the head-quarters of the enemy, whose forces were strong and daily increasing, and he, at the same time, removed more than thirty miles from the Rapids—the nearest point from which he could possibly receive any assistance. Still the calamity that ensued would no doubt have been avoided, had he adopted the ordinary precautions of fortifying his camp, and stationing videttes to give him timely warning of the enemy's approach. His troops could then have defended themselves, at least, until the arrival of reinforcements from the Rapids, when the enemy would have been compelled to retreat, or, had they fought, the battle would, in all probability, have terminated in our favour.

After WINCHESTER'S DEFEAT, our troops at the Rapids amounted to less than nine hundred effective men. General Harrison called a council of war, who, supposing that their position would be attacked by the enemy in overwhelming force, unanimously recommended that the army should fall back to the Portage River, eighteen miles distant. The next morning, therefore, our troops abandoned the Rapids, and retired to the designated point, which they strongly fortified.

But on the 1st of February, the army again marched to the Rapids, having been reinforced by the arrival of General Leitch, with the Virginia brigade and a part of the artillery, augmenting their number to eighteen hundred men.

Instead of the severe cold and intense frosts, that usually prevailed in this northern region at this season, and which would have enabled General Harrison to move his forces, military stores and supplies, with comparative ease and celerity, warm rains broke up the roads, and were followed by heavy falls of snow, which rendered the march of the troops exceedingly fatiguing and dangerous, as well as slow, and the conveyance of provisions and heavy munitions of war almost im-

possible. The unavoidable exposure, too, of the troops to the heavy rains, which kept the encampment almost constantly inundated, the deficiency of proper tents to shelter them, and their want even of sufficient food and clothing, produced pleurisies and much other severe sickness in the camp, and greatly reduced the number of effective men.

The General's tent, placed in the centre, happened to be in one of the lowest parts of the encampment, and consequently suffered most from the rain; but when entreated by his officers to change its position, he refused to do so, declaring that it was necessary that every military man should be satisfied with the situation which in the course of his duty, fell to his lot.

Under these circumstances, General Harrison prepared to go into winter quarters at the Rapids. He accordingly selected a good position on the south side of the river, which he strongly fortified, and called Camp Meigs, in honour of the patriotic Governor of Ohio. Leaving the army at that station, he proceeded to Cincinnati, to procure reinforcements of men, and supplies of provisions and military stores.

We should here mention, that, while engaged in the various and arduous services of this campaign, General Harrison organized several distinct expeditions against the Indian towns, to keep the hostile savages in check, and protect our extended frontier. One of these expeditions, consisting of a detachment of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Campbell, was sent against the towns on the Mississineway, from which our scattered settlements had suffered much annoyance. This enterprise was conducted with great skill, and proved signally successful. The principal town was attacked in the most gallant manner, and, after a desperate action of more than an hour, was carried at the point of the bayonet. From the general order issued by Harrison, on the return of this expedition, we make the following extract, which will convey some idea of the humane and generous feelings that have always characterized both his public and private conduct. After awarding these gallant troops the high meed of praise which their bravery had won, he goes on to say:—"But the character of this gallant detachment, exhibiting as it did, perseverance, fortitude and bravery, would, however, be incomplete, if in the midst of vic

tory they had forgotten the feelings of humanity. It is with the sincerest pleasure that the General has heard that the most punctual obedience was paid to his orders, in not only saving all the women and children, but in sparing all the warriors who ceased to resist; and that even when vigorously attacked by the enemy, the claims of mercy prevailed over every sense of their own danger, and this heroic band respected the lives of their prisoners. Let an account of murdered innocence be opened in the records of heaven against our enemies alone. The American soldier will follow the example of his government; and the sword of the one will not be raised against the fallen and helpless, nor the gold of the other be paid for the scalps of a massacred enemy." What a contrast do these noble sentiments present to the atrocious conduct of the British General, Proctor, who, at the cruel massacre at Raisin river, and at the Rapids, basely permitted unresisting prisoners of war to be unsparingly butchered by his savage and remorseless allies!

The pride of Kentucky fell in the massacre of the Raisin; and so wide-spread was the woe, that there was scarcely a family in the state that did not mourn a butchered friend or relative. The temper of the American people seldom yields long to useless lamentation; grief was succeeded by indignation; and the very day after that on which the news of this inhuman slaughter was received at Frankfort, the Governor signed a bill to raise three thousand volunteers for the army. The Legislature proposed a resolution requesting the Executive (Governor Shelby) to take command of the forces of the state in person, whenever he should deem it necessary. Instead of fabricating the weeds of mourning, the mothers and sisters of the slain, shaped out the tents and wove together the stars and stripes, for this new band of patriot warriors.

Early in the spring, intelligence was received that the British were making extensive preparations, and concentrating a large force of regular soldiers, Canadians and Indians, to besiege Fort Meigs. On obtaining this information, General Harrison hastened to his camp, and exerted the most strenuous efforts to prepare for the threatened attack of the enemy. His presence cheered the troops, and he inspired them with fresh ardour by an eloquent address, in which he alluded modestly, but in the

most animating manner, to the neighbouring battle-field, where General Wayne had gained the brilliant VICTORY OF THE MAUMEE RAPIDS, and where he himself had won the brightest of his earlier laurels.

At this time the garrison of Fort Meigs was much reduced in numbers, and the period for which those who still remained had enlisted, was about to expire. General Harrison therefore looked with great anxiety for the arrival of the strong reinforcement of Kentucky troops, who were approaching with all possible despatch under General Clay; but whose march had been greatly impeded by the wretched condition of the roads.

On the morning of the 28th of April, the scouts brought in intelligence of the near advance of the enemy. And soon after, on the same day, the British troops were discovered from the fort, ascending the river in vessels and boats, while the Indians, in strong force, were seen approaching, at the same time, by land. The British disembarked and encamped at the old station on the Maumee, nearly two miles below Fort Meigs; and on the night after they landed, they commenced the construction of three powerful batteries, on the north side of the river, directly opposite our camp.

It was on this occasion that GENERAL HARRISON resorted to a measure of defence which, while it displayed in a new light his transcendent military genius, in its success has been rarely equalled, and was not surpassed by that of the gallant JACKSON WITH THE COTTON BAGS OF NEW ORLEANS.

Whilst the British were busy in constructing their forts, Harrison had moved all the tents of the army to the side of the Fort next to them, thus forming a screen to his operations within the works. Behind these tents he threw up a traverse or bank of earth, twelve feet high, and twenty feet wide at the base, in such a manner as to form the most perfect protection to the garrison against the enemy's guns. The tents concealing the embankment, the British were unapprized of its existence. On the 30th of May, the enemy's batteries being completed, preparations were made for bombarding. Their troops were beat to quarters, the guns loaded, the fuses lighted, the want of the word "FIRE," alone suspended the attack. At this moment HARRISON gave orders to "STRIKE THE TENTS."

It was done in an instant, and Proctor was thus taught how fruitless had been all his labour, when opposed by the superior **SAGACITY AND GENERALSHIP OF HARRISON**. Not a man—not a tent could he behold, nothing but a high shield of earth, and McAfee observes, "*the prospect of smoking them out, which the British had threatened to do, was very faint!*"

COLONEL MCKUNE, of Ohio, a veteran of the last war, states that,

"In the first attack by the British upon Fort Meigs, the Americans fought outside the fort. I commanded at one of the gates of the fort, and personally helped General Harrison over the pickets, and saw him commanding his men *in person and on foot*, regardless of the most imminent danger."

Proctor, however, resolved to hear the music of his guns, and accordingly opened a heavy fire on the Fort. So perfect was Harrison's defence, that although he endured this attack for eight days, he lost only two men. The army of Harrison amounted to about a thousand men, while the enemy's force comprised six hundred regulars, eight hundred Canadian militia and eighteen hundred Indians. During the first three days the fire of the enemy was incessant and tremendous. Five and eight inch shells and twenty-four pound shot fell in showers in the camp.*

On the 3d of April, Proctor's men appeared to work unwillingly, and Harrison's troops repeatedly mounted the ramparts, **AND CHEERED THEM ON!** This was almost the only return they could make for their favours, as our troops were almost destitute of ammunition.

Harrison was often seen upon the ramparts, sword in hand, and the shot falling around him, to use the words of one who served under him, "as thickly as hail," pointing the cannon and defying the enemy.

It is worthy of remark, that on the second day of the attack, Proctor sent an officer with a flag, to demand the surrender of the post. The grounds of this demand were, that the American force was *too weak* to defend the works against the *overwhelming numbers of the besiegers*, and that General Proctor was anxious to save the effusion of blood! The intrepid Harrison promptly replied:

* McAfee, p. 263.

"If General Proctor knows the usages of war, as I am bound to believe he does, he must either have considered me ignorant of them, or he must have intended an insult. It was his duty to make the demand before he commenced firing on the works. But, sir, said he, go back and tell your General that I know my own force, and his, and that I shall defend the works to the last extremity. TELL HIM FARTHER, THAT IF HE EVER POSSESSES THE FORT, HE SHALL OBTAIN IT IN A WAY THAT WILL LIVE HIM MORE HONOUR IN THE ESTIMATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT, THAN HE COULD DERIVE FROM A THOUSAND SURRENDERS!"

Another incident is also worthy of notice: After the enemy had retired, a number of the Indians who had left them came into the fort and stated that a contract had been entered into between Proctor and Tecumseh, that as soon as the fort surrendered, which they considered inevitable, Harrison should be given up to the Indians, to be disposed of as they might see proper. Harrison replied:

"Then General Proctor can be neither a soldier nor a man. But if it shall ever be his fate to surrender to me, his life shall be protected, but I will dress him in a *petticoat*, and deliver him over to the *squaws*, as being unworthy to associate with men."

On this story was founded an infamous slander on General Harrison, and a base insult to the ladies of Chillicothe, fabricated by a person whose name we will not stoop to mention.

Colonel Wood remarks,

"With a plenty of ammunition, we should have been able to blow John Bull almost from the Miami. It was extremely diverting to see with what pleasure and delight the Indians would yell, whenever, in their opinion, considerable damage was done in the camp by the bursting of a shell. Their hanging about camp, and occasionally pretty near, kept our lines almost constantly in a blaze of fire; for nothing can please a Kentuckian better than to get a shot at an Indian; and they must be indulged."

During the night, the approach of General Clay on the river, with twelve hundred Kentuckians, was announced to General Harrison. He immediately despatched Captain Hamilton with orders to Clay, directing him to divide his corps and to send eight hundred men to the west side of the river, to get possession of the enemy's batteries. The remainder were to land on the east side, and fight their way into the fort. It was Harrison's intention to destroy the British fort on the south side, whilst Clay was cutting his way through the Indians.

The troops to whom was confided the duty of carrying the enemy's batteries on the west side of the river, were commanded by Dudley. By the swiftness of the current, General Clay was

separated from his command. -Colonel Boswell, at the head of this division, landed, formed and attacked the enemy. General Harrison, who stood on a battery exposed to the fire of the enemy watching their operations, observing an effort on the part of the Indians to gain his flank, resolved on a *sortie* from the garrison, to relieve him and carry the batteries on that side of the river. The forces for this purpose were placed under the command of Colonel Miller, who, with Major Todd, says McAfee, "led on his command with the most determined bravery, charged upon the British, and drove them from their batteries; spiked their cannon, and took forty-one prisoners, including an officer; having completely beaten and driven back the whole force of the enemy. That force consisted of two hundred British regulars, one hundred and fifty Canadians, and five hundred Indians; being considerably more than double the force of the brave detachment that attacked them: but our troops charged with such irresistible impetuosity that nothing could withstand them."

In no instance during the war was there harder fighting than in this brilliant *sortie*. It lasted but forty-five minutes, during which one hundred and eighty men were killed and wounded on our side.

In the mean time Dudley had gained the opposite shore, and approached the batteries erected there. When about three hundred yards from them, the troops could no longer be restrained, but, with a yell, rushed on to the attack, charging the batteries "at full speed." The enemy, panic stricken, abandoned the forts and fled, leaving them an easy prey in the hands of the gallant Kentuckians, who at once pulled down the British flag. The troops under Dudley were mostly raw militia, brave, hardy and enterprising, but destitute of discipline. After taking the forts, they amused themselves with examining the defences, instead of destroying them. *Harrison*, observing this, repeatedly called to them to retire, and come into the fort. Unfortunately they neglected his warning. The Indians and British reinforced, returned, and in an hour their fate was decided. They nearly all fell or were taken prisoners. Death was the easier fate of the two. Some of them were shot by the Indians. "Those," says Colonel Wood, "who preferred to

inflict a still more cruel and savage death, selected their victims, and led them to the gateway, and there, *under the eye of General Proctor, and in the presence of the whole British army, tomahawked and scalped them.*" This horrid work of destruction continued until the arrival of Tecumseh from the batteries. No sooner did the savage warrior behold the massacre, than he exclaimed, "for shame! it is a disgrace to kill a defenceless prisoner;" and stopped the carnage.

After the close of the action of the 6th, Proctor formally summoned Harrison to surrender; which request the latter declined with indignant contempt. Proctor finding Harrison unwilling to be either cajoled or beaten into submission, resolved to quit so unaccommodating a foe; and accordingly he decamped on the 8th, retreating with disappointment and disgrace, leaving HARRISON in full possession of the field of battle. Harrison then repaired to Cleveland and Lower Sandusky, to put those places in a state of defence; and shortly after set out for the interior, leaving General Clay in command of Fort Meigs.*

The defence of Fort Meigs was one of the most admirably conducted and brilliant efforts of skill and valour united, that is recorded in the annals of military operations. It was not less distinguished by the personal courage of the commander and his troops, than their rare fortitude, perseverance and skill. In itself, it conferred immortal honour on Harrison, and gave him an additional hold on the affections and confidence of the West, the admiration of the country and the applause of the government.

* See 5th Niles's Register.

CHAPTER V.

Successful efforts of Harrison for the construction of a fleet on the Lakes—Second attack on Fort Meigs—The enemy retreat—They assail Fort Stephenson, and are repulsed by the garrison—Slanders against Harrison—His triumphant vindication—Preparations for the reduction of Malden—Perry's victory—Harrison embarks his army for Canada—Takes possession of Malden—Harrison pursues Proctor—Battle and victory at the Thames—Brilliant conduct of Harrison—Death of Tecumseh—Testimony in favour of Harrison—Langdon Cheves—James Madison—Simon Snyder—Resolution of Congress—Thomas Ritchie.

WE have already stated that General Harrison had suggested to Mr. Madison, the construction of a fleet on the Lakes, to co-operate with the army under his command. In his letters to the War Department he had repeatedly urged the great importance of obtaining the command of Lake Erie, and of the immediate necessity of creating a navy for that purpose. In one of his communications he remarked—

"Should our offensive operations be suspended until spring, it is my decided opinion that the cheapest and most effectual plan will be *to obtain command of Lake Erie*. This being once effected, every difficulty will be removed. An army of four thousand men, landed on the North side of the lake, below Malden, will soon reduce that place, retake Detroit, and, with the aid of the fleet, proceed down the lake to co-operate with the army from Niagara."

In several subsequent letters, he again strenuously urged his plan of a FLEET ON THE LAKES, until the government were at length convinced of the importance of the measure. Being founded on a practical knowledge of the condition and requirements of the frontier, the suggestion of this remarkable man, prevailed over the government, and Mr. Madison authorised the equipment of a fleet by the IMMORTAL PERRY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL HARRISON. No effort of activity or skill was spared to hasten the completion and equipment of the vessels, and early in August, Commodore Perry had the satisfaction of finding that he had a fleet fitted for sea, and ready for action, nearly equal in force to that of the enemy.

In the mean time Harrison was engaged in the interior, prosecuting his various and arduous duties and preparing to repel

a second attack on Fort Meigs, which he learned on reaching Franklinton, was contemplated by the combined British and Indian forces. The unceasing efforts of the British, and the restless spirit of Tecumseh, allowed our troops but little time to recover from their severe fatigues. In less than two months after the siege of Fort Meigs, the Indians assembled a formidable body of more than *five thousand warriors*, under their most noted chiefs, and again threatened an attack on that fortress. On receiving this intelligence, General Harrison instantly repaired to its succour, by forced marches, with three hundred men, and fortunately arrived there before the enemy. Leaving a reinforcement with General Clay, he returned without delay to his more active duties.

Just before General Harrison was called to Fort Meigs by the impending attack, he held a council at Franklinton, with the chiefs of the friendly Indians, consisting of the Delaware, Shawanoese, Wyandot, and Seneca tribes. He informed them that circumstances had come to his knowledge which induced him to suspect the fidelity of some of the tribes, who seemed disposed to join the enemy in case they succeeded in capturing Fort Meigs—that a crisis had arrived, which required all the tribes who were then neutral, but were willing to engage in the war, to take a decided stand either for us or against us. He told them that the President wanted no false friends—that the proposal of General Proctor to exchange the Kentucky militia who were his prisoners, for the tribes in our friendship, seemed to indicate that he had received some hint of their willingness to take up the tomahawk against us. He informed them that to afford the United States a proof of their good disposition, they must either remove with their families into the interior, or the warriors must accompany him in the ensuing campaign, and fight for the liberties of the United States. To the latter proposition the chiefs and warriors unanimously agreed. They said they had long been anxious for an invitation to fight for the Americans. *Tahé*, the oldest Indian in the western country, who represented all the tribes, professed in their name the most indissoluble friendship for the United States. General Harrison then told them that he would give them the earliest information when they would be wanted in the service; “but”

said he, "you must conform to our mode of warfare. You are *not to kill defenceless prisoners, old men, women or children.*" He added, that by their conduct he would be able to determine whether the British could restrain their Indians from such horrible atrocities as they were in the practice of committing. For if the Indians fighting with him would forbear from the perpetration of such cruelty, it would prove that Proctor could restrain his, if he desired to do so. He humorously told them that he had been informed that General Proctor had promised to deliver him into the hands of Tecumseh, if he succeeded against Fort Meigs, to be treated as that warrior might think proper. "Now if I can succeed in taking Proctor," he added, "you shall have him for your prisoner, provided you will agree to treat him as a *squaw*, and only put *petticoats* upon him; for he must be a coward who would kill a defenceless prisoner!"

During the whole of this laborious and perilous campaign, the vigilance and intrepidity of General Harrison, with the bravery of his soldiers, enabled him to keep a far superior force of the enemy in check, and to protect the wide extent of our exposed frontier. Our forts were ably defended, and our troops gallantly repelled every attack of the enemy, except in some few instances, when they were assailed by an overwhelming force.

Shortly after General Harrison had gone to the aid of Fort Meigs, he placed Major Croghan, with one hundred and sixty men, at Fort Stephenson, a temporary depot at Lower Sandusky, and established his head-quarters at Seneca, nine miles lower down on the Sandusky river. From this place, chosen with peculiar judgment, he could either protect Upper Sandusky, or cut his way into Fort Meigs, as occasion might require. Fort Stephenson, in command of Croghan, was a mere out-post, and not considered worthy of much exertion. Indeed it never would have been heard of, but for the heroic gallantry of the **YOUTHFUL HERO** whom Harrison, with his usual sagacity, had placed in command of it.

In the month of July, the British under Proctor and Dickson, and the "**ALLIES**" under Tecumseh, appeared before Fort Meigs, to the number of five thousand. They remained there

without any active operations until the 28th, when they abandoned Fort Meigs and moved down by the lake to Lower Sandusky. The post of Fort Stephenson had been *unanimously* declared worthless and untenable, by a council of officers, of which the HON. LEWIS CASS, LATE SECRETARY OF WAR, and GENERAL MCARTHUR were members.* Accordingly Croghan had been ordered to set fire to it and march to head-quarters, before the enemy could reach it. This order, however, was not received by Major Croghan, in consequence of Mr. Connor and the Indians, by whom it was sent, getting lost in the woods, until the fort was surrounded by Indians, and retreat rendered impossible. Croghan then addressed the following note to Harrison :

"SIR,—I have received yours of yesterday, ten o'clock, P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. *We have determined to maintain this place ; and by Heavens, we can.*"

This note was written with the expectation that it would be intercepted by the enemy, and was designed to leave on them an impression of his strength. Harrison, not knowing this, regarded it as a refusal to obey, and accordingly on the evening of the 31st of July, he sent Colonel Wells to Fort Stephenson with a squadron of dragoons, to supersede Croghan and send him to head-quarters. When Croghan arrived and made this explanation, the General, pleased with the good policy which he exhibited, instantly reinstated him, with orders to evacuate the fort as soon as *he safely* could. The next day, the enemy, under Proctor, landed and summoned the post to surrender ; at the same time humanely informing the besieged that if they did not, the fort should be stormed and themselves given up to the tomahawk and scalping-knife ! Dickson, in person, accompanied the flag which bore the summons, and was met by Ensign Shipp on the part of the garrison. Dickson begged Shipp to surrender for God's sake, as in the event of Proctor's taking the fort, they would all be massacred. Shipp replied, "*that when the fort was taken there would be none left to massacre.*" At this juncture an Indian came up to Shipp and endeavoured to wrest his sword from him. Shipp drew it on

* McAfee's History of the Last War, p. 322.

him and was about despatching him, when Dickson interposed and restrained the savage. Croghan, who had been standing on the ramparts, and had observed the insult offered to Shipp, called to him, "*Shipp, come in, and we'll blow them all to hell.*" Shipp went in, bidding Dickson "good-bye." The cannonading then commenced, and in twenty-four hours upwards of five hundred shot struck the works, though with little effect.

Croghan had but one piece of artillery, a six-pounder, which by his order was removed to the block-house and loaded with musket balls. On the evening of the next day the enemy determined to carry the works by storm. They advanced in two columns; one led on by Lieutenant-Colonel Short, the other by Colonel Chambers. Under cover of the smoke of the fort, the men advanced until they came to the ditch, where they paused. Colonel Short rallied them, crying out to push on, "and give the damned Yankees no quarters." The six-pounder, which had been placed at a masked embrasure in the block-house, at thirty feet distance from them, now opened, pouring death and destruction among them. Of those in the ditch few escaped. A precipitate retreat commenced. The column under Colonel Chambers was also routed by a severe fire from Captain Hunter's line; and the whole fled into an adjoining wood. Lieutenant Short and twenty-five privates were left dead in the ditch, and twenty-six were afterwards taken prisoners. The total loss of the enemy was one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. When night came on, the wounded in the ditch suffered indescribably. Croghan conveyed them water over the pickets, and opened a ditch through the ramparts, by which they were invited to enter the fort. Let the reader compare this act of magnanimity with the conduct of Proctor at the river Raisin!

In the night the combined force of the "allies" commenced a rapid and disorderly retreat, leaving part of their baggage and wounded behind them. For his act of gallantry on this occasion, Croghan was promoted to the rank of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.

Shortly after the retreat of Proctor, he sent a flag with his surgeon, Dr. Banner, to inquire into the condition of the



GENERAL HARRISON.



wounded. After an examination of them, the doctor expressed himself highly gratified with the tenderness and skill with which they had been treated. When introduced to Croghan, he could not but express his astonishment that *such* a post had been held in *such* a manner by *such* a boy.

It appears to be the invariable fortune of great men to be libelled. Even Washington, the Father of his Country, was calumniated and denounced. Jefferson was opprobriously stigmatised, and every act of his career tortured to suit the base purposes of faction. Simon Snyder, the Father of Democracy in Pennsylvania, was accused even of *theft*, and are we to be surprised that the great and good Harrison has not been exempt from the stings of malice and falsehood? These reflections are awakened by a recollection of the flagrant injustice which has been attempted against General Harrison, by some of his political enemies, in the grossest misrepresentations in reference to the defence of Fort Stephenson. This has been ventured, upon the presumption of the ignorance of the public in regard to the events of that period. A simple statement, founded on facts which **NONE CAN QUESTION**, will put these slanderers to flight.

At the date of the attack on Fort Stephenson, the enemy had nearly seven thousand men in the field—two thousand of whom were British regulars and Canadians, and the remainder were warriors of the fiercest Indian tribes. The army under General Harrison was greatly inferior in numbers, and it became his duty, as a skilful commander, to withdraw his unimportant outposts, to avoid risking unnecessarily the loss of a single soldier, and to enable him, by concentrating his forces, to hold the enemy in check, at least, if he should not prove strong enough to give him battle. Fort Stephenson was a temporary and unimportant station, and so commanded by the high ground in its neighbourhood, as to be utterly indefensible against heavy artillery—and such, from their command of the lake, the British could easily transport to its attack. Fully aware of this, from having reconnoitered the ground in person, General Harrison, on learning that this station was about to be assailed, thought it expedient to withdraw the garrison of Fort Stephenson. The order which was accordingly sent to Croghan, the condemnation of the Fort by a Council of Officers, as worthless

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and untenable, the reason why Croghan could not obey the order, and the subsequent result, have been already detailed.

The gallant defence of a position which General Harrison had ordered to be abandoned, with the *unanimous* approbation of a Council of his Officers, was seized upon by the malicious among his political opponents, who industriously circulated the falsest statements and most unfounded charges in relation to it. But fortunately the plain truth soon became so well known, that his fair fame suffered no injury from the unfounded calumnies. So many gallant officers bore witness of their own accord, to the military foresight and wisdom of his measures, that no slander which even the malice of his calumniators could devise, ever darkened for a moment his unsullied reputation.

The following short extracts are from an address to the public, relative to this affair, which was voluntarily published by the general, field, and staff-officers of General Harrison's army; among whom were Col. Cass, late Secretary of War, General Wells and others scarcely less distinguished in the army and the councils of their country. After expressing their

"Regret and surprise, that charges, as improper in form as in substance, should have been made against General Harrison, during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky, they go on to say :—

"On a review of the course then adopted, we are decidedly of the opinion, that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom, and by a due regard to our circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. And with a ready acquiescence, beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a general, whose measures *meet our most deliberate approbation, and merit that of his country.*"

The chivalrous and noble-spirited CROGHAN, who was one of the signers of the above address, about the same time published another paper on this subject, dated from Lower Sandusky, in which he says :—

"I have with much regret seen in some of the public prints such misrepresentations respecting my refusal to evacuate this post, as are not only calculated to injure me in the estimation of military men, but also to excite unfavourable impressions as to the propriety of General Harrison's conduct relative to this affair.

"His character as a military man is too well established to need my approbation or support. But his public service entitles him at least to common justice. This affair does not furnish cause of reproach. If public opinion has been lately misled respecting his late conduct, it will require but a moment's cool, dispassionate reflection, to convince them of its propriety. *The measures recently adopted by him, so far from deserving censure, are the clearest proofs of his penetration and able generalship*

"It is true that I did not proceed immediately to execute his orders to evacuate this fort, but this disobedience was not (as *some* would wish to believe) the result of a fixed determination to maintain the post contrary to his most positive order.

"I desire no plaudits which are bestowed upon me at the expense of General Harrison.

"*I have felt the warmest attachment for him as a man, and my confidence in him as an able commander remains unshaken. I shall not hesitate to unite with the army in bestowing upon him that confidence which he so richly merits, and which has on no occasion been withheld.*"*

We have dwelt on this passage in the life of General Harrison, somewhat longer than is consistent with the brevity of this sketch; but the political opponents of General Harrison can find so few points in his whole life that afford them the slightest apology for censure, that they have been driven to pervert and misrepresent an affair of so simple a nature as this, and one that in truth entitled him, as the gallant Croghan justly says, "*to the highest commendation.*" We have therefore thought it no more than common justice to him, and to our readers, to lay before them this plain exposition of facts. The wisest and best actions are often misunderstood or perverted by the ignorant or malicious. We trust and believe that the former constitute the larger portion of those who have sought to shadow the fair fame of General Harrison; but while mean and sordid spirits exist, envy and detraction will always pursue exalted merit.

At last, disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and dispirited by the numerous defeats they had sustained, the savage allies of the British became discontented. The second siege of Fort Meigs had been abandoned, when the enemy learned that Harrison had prepared to give them a warm reception; and gradually the Indians and their white associates entirely withdrew from our territory. They soon after concentrated their forces at Malden, their principal stronghold in Upper Canada. It will thus be seen that the skill and triumphant gallantry with which General Harrison had conducted his *defensive* operations—the only resources left him in the face of a foe far superior to his forces in point of numbers and discipline—had not only protected our widely extended frontier, but had eventually

* Weekly Aurora, vol. iv. p. 160.

compelled the enemy to leave our soil, mortified and humbled by frequent defeats.

The activity and enterprise of Harrison did not long permit the enemy to rest in security, even after they had retreated from our territory. He immediately commenced preparations for carrying the war into their own country, and formed a bold project for the capture of Malden, and the conquest of Upper Canada.

On the 20th of July, HARRISON was informed that the naval armament, which had been built under Perry's superintendence, was prepared to co-operate with him in the reduction of Malden. With a view to this, he wrote to Governor Shelby of Kentucky, earnestly soliciting a body of militia, not less than four hundred nor more than two thousand; and requesting that he would accompany them in person. Old Kentucky responded instantly to the call, and Governor Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain, took command of the forces, fifteen hundred strong, among which were Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted men.

We cannot refrain from introducing the following extract of a letter written about this time to General Harrison, by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, now Vice-President of the United States, as illustrative of the ardour of the people of the West to serve under the command of one who they knew would lead them to victory. It is dated at Lower Sandusky, July 4th, 1813,* and was sent for the purpose of apprizing General Harrison that its writer and the brave Kentuckians under his command, had arrived and were waiting his orders.

"To be ready," says Colonel Johnson, "to move WITH YOU, to Detroit and Canada, against the enemies of our country, is the first wish of our hearts. Two great objects induced us to come: first, to be at the regaining of our own territory and Detroit, and at the taking of Malden; and secondly, *to serve under an officer in whom we have confidence.* We would not have engaged in the service without such a prospect, when we recollected what disasters have attended us for the want of good generals. We did not want to serve under *cowards, drunkards, old grannies, nor traitors, BUT UNDER ONE WHO HAD PROVED HIMSELF TO BE WISE, PRUDENT, AND BRAVE.* The officers of the mounted regiment had some idea of addressing you on *their anxiety to be a part of your army* in the campaign against Canada, and of giving you a statement of the importance of having an opportunity to make the regiment

* McAfee's History of the Last War, p. 310.

efficient for such a campaign by recruiting their horses. My enemies, your enemies, the enemies of our cause, would exult if the mounted regiment should from any cause be unable to carry a strong arm against the savages and British, WHEN YOU STRIKE THE GRAND BLOW. It is with much diffidence I write you any thing touching military matters. In the morning we shall leave this place for Huron, ready to receive your orders, which will always be cheerfully executed at every hazard."

On the 2d of August, Perry got his fleet over the bar at the mouth of the harbour, and proceeded to Sandusky to receive orders from Harrison. Harrison commanded him to advance at once to Malden, and to bring the enemy to battle, as it was apprehended the British commander was waiting for an opportunity of attacking our fleet whilst engaged in transporting the troops to Canada. Harrison, confident in the result of any engagement which might occur, placed the army in a state for instant embarkation. On the 12th, in writing to Governor Shelby, he observes, "Our fleet has undoubtedly met that of the enemy. The day before yesterday a tremendous and incessant cannonade was heard in the direction of Malden; it lasted two hours: I am all anxiety for the event." Within half an hour after writing the above, Harrison received a letter from Perry, which ran as follows:

"U. S. Brig Niagara, off the Western Sister, &c. }
September 10th, 1813. 4 P. M. }

"DEAR GENERAL,—We have met the enemy, and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop.

"Yours with great respect and esteem,

"OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

"GEN. W. H. HARRISON."

We will not attempt a description of the feelings which this news excited at Seneca and Lower Sandusky. McAfee remarks that it set both camps "*in an uproar of tumultuous joy.*"

Orders were immediately given by General Harrison to prepare for embarkation, and the transportation of the provisions, military stores, &c. to the margin of the lake. The troops were

* The following extract of another letter from the immortal Perry to GENERAL HARRISON, will show that while our country is indebted to Harrison for its most brilliant victories on land, it owes him an eternal debt of gratitude for its naval glory.

"The very great assistance in the action of the 10th derived from those men you were pleased to send on board the squadron, renders it a duty to return you my sincere thanks for so timely a reinforcement. IN FACT, SIR, I MAY SAY, WITHOUT THOSE MEN THE VICTORY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED."—*Niles' Register*, vol. 5th, p. 20.

mustered, formed, and those in the rear traversed the swamps at the rate of thirty miles per day, until they reached head quarters on the Lake. From the 16th of September, 1813, to the 24th of the same month, Harrison had the troops and provisions all transported to the place of rendezvous, Put-in-bay, and on the 24th sailed with Commodore Perry to reconnoitre Malden, and immediately on his return issued orders for the embarkation of the army. Previous to this he issued an address to the army, of the most manly and spirited kind, in which he admonishes them against excesses in the hour of victory. "REMEMBER," said he, "THE RIVER RAISIN, BUT REMEMBER IT ONLY WHILST VICTORY IS SUSPENDED. THE REVENGE OF A SOLDIER CANNOT BE GRATIFIED ON A FALLEN ENEMY."

On the 27th, the army embarked and landed in Canada, eager to encounter the enemy, but lo! no enemy could be found. Malden was in ruins; the Fort and works were a mass of mouldering ashes. The *gallant, humane, and oft-whipped Hero* of the River Raisin and Fort Meigs, had modestly *withdrawn* before the Hero of Tippecanoe, against the urgent remonstrances of Tecumseh. This gallant warrior, in an address to Proctor, made at this time, said:—"Father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat dog, that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted drops it between its legs and runs off!"* Our troops encamped without opposition, on the site of Malden, the former head quarters of the enemy, and took possession of that fortress from which had issued, for years past, those ruthless bands of savages, which had swept over our extended frontier, scattering the mangled bodies of thousands of unresisting victims in their path. Harrison issued general orders for the protection of the people of Canada, in which he commanded their persons and property to be respected. This measure, so characteristic of GENERAL HARRISON's justice and humanity, inspired the terrified and flying Canadians with confidence in the Americans.—They had felt the *friendly spoliations of Proctor*, and concluded that the track of the *hostile*

* McAfee's History of the Last War.

Americans, would be marked with ruin and desolation; being undeceived, they returned to their homes, which they continued to occupy unmolested, to the close of the war. On the 1st of October *General Harrison proposed to a Council of Officers, a plan for the pursuit of Proctor*, which was unanimously approved of. Our limits will not permit us to follow the army through this march, and we will therefore come at once to a description of the celebrated Battle of the Thames, one of the most glorious and decisive actions fought during the war.

On the 5th of October, 1813, our army came up with the British and Indians under Proctor. The latter finding it impossible to escape from *Harrison* by flight, resolved to place his dependence for safety on the much vaunted valour and discipline of British regulars, and had drawn up his army in battle array on the bank of the *River Thames*, in a position admirably calculated for resistance. His right flank was covered by a swamp, deemed impassable; his left by the river Thames, and supported by artillery. The Indians, two thousand in number, were posted beyond the swamp on the right of the British regulars, and were commanded by TECUMSEH in person.

General Harrison drew up one division of his infantry, in a double line reaching from the river to the swamp, opposite Proctor's troops, and the other division at right angles to the first, with its front extending along the swamp. This disposition of the troops was made with a view of preventing the Indians from turning his left flank and attacking him in the rear. The mounted regiment under Colonel *Johnson* was placed in front of the infantry. Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, was directed to take his position at the angle between the swamp, which was considered a very important point in these arrangements for the contest. General Harrison "*placed himself at the head of the front line.*"* When Perry, who served as his aid-de-camp, kindly, remonstrated with him on the exposure of his person, he intrepidly replied "*that it was necessary that a General should set the example!*"

General Harrison had scarcely issued these orders for the

* McAfee's History of the Last War, p. 390.

formation of the troops, and for them to advance, when his eagle eye caught the enemy's order of battle. They had formed in open column, that is with the space of five feet between the ranks. He appreciated at once the egregious blunder which Proctor had committed, and determined to avail himself of it. With surpassing quickness he changed his order of attack, and resolved to try the effect of a charge of the *mounted men*, a manœuvre entirely his own, and for which no precedent can be found in the annals of military tactics. Of its effect he had no doubt, from a knowledge of the fact that troops formed in open order could not resist, for an instant, a vigorous charge of cavalry.* He therefore directed them,† says the historian of the western war, who was an eye-witness of the scene, "to be formed in two charging columns, and on receiving their (the enemy's) fire, to charge through their ranks, and act as circumstances might require."

On forming the mounted regiment, it was discovered that only one battalion of it could act efficiently against the British regulars. This battalion under the COMMAND OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES JOHNSON,‡ advanced to the attack of Proctor's army. Before they had come near enough to the enemy for effective operations, the latter commenced firing, by which the horses were frightened, and some of them recoiling, caused a momentary confusion in the ranks. This delay afforded the British time to reload, but the columns were instantly put in

* Commodore Perry in a letter to General Harrison, dated August 18th, 1817, paid this just and happy compliment to his distinguished friend. "The prompt change made by you in the order of battle on discovering the position of the enemy, has always appeared to me to have evinced a HIGH DEGREE OF MILITARY TALENT." It was justly remarked by a distinguished political writer, immediately after the victory of the Thames, that "General Harrison has added a new manœuvre to the science of military tactics—charging bayonet on horseback; which may afford some ingenious Englishman an opportunity of discovering a method of counteracting it, just as Captain Manby has explained to the enlightened John Bull the American secret of conquering at sea." Vide Democratic Press, October 25th, 1813.

† See the annexed engraving representing General Harrison and his staff at the moment when this order was given.

‡ It was Lieutenant Colonel *James* Johnson who commanded the battalion of the mounted regiment, whose charge at once decided the contest, and not Colonel *Richard M.* Johnson, now Vice President of the United States, as has been generally supposed. See McAfee's History, p. 391.

motion, and rushed down upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity. The first and second ranks broke and fled. The cavalry, *conformably to General Harrison's orders*, charged through them in every direction, and forming in their rear, poured destruction among them.

Panic-struck by this bold, original, and unexpected manœuvre, and at being assailed both in front and rear, the British threw down their arms in dismay, and the whole army was captured, with the exception of a few who escaped by an early flight with the blood-stained and cowardly Proctor. "Thus," says McAfee, "THE WHOLE BRITISH FORCE, UPWARDS OF EIGHT HUNDRED STRONG, WAS TOTALLY VANQUISHED, AND THE GREATEST PART OF IT CAPTURED BY THE FIRST BATTALION OF THE MOUNTED REGIMENT UNDER LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES JOHNSON, before the front line of infantry had got fairly in view of them."

Resistance on the part of the British regulars under Proctor at once ceased; in fact, the enemy was vanquished and the field won. Proctor, himself, not liking General Harrison's new mode of attack, and his military education furnishing no check to it, *fairly ran off the field*. General Harrison immediately ordered Major Payne to pursue him with a part of his battalion. This was promptly done, and the pursuit continued, by the greater part of the detachment, to the distance of six miles beyond the Moravian town, some Indians being killed, and a considerable number of prisoners, with a large quantity of plunder, being captured in their progress. Majors Payne, Wood, Todd and Chambers, Captain Langham, and Lieutenants Scrogin and Bell, with three privates, continued the pursuit several miles further, till night came upon them: but Proctor was not to be taken. His guilty conscience had told him that his only chance for safety from the vengeance of those whose countrymen he had murdered—*butchered in cold blood*—lay in the celerity of his flight. His pursuers, however, at last pressed him so closely that he was obliged to abandon the road and conceal himself in the forest! His carriage and sword became trophies in the hands of the gallant Wood.

After the rout of the British regulars, some smart skirmishing took place on the left wing. General Harrison, finding it im-

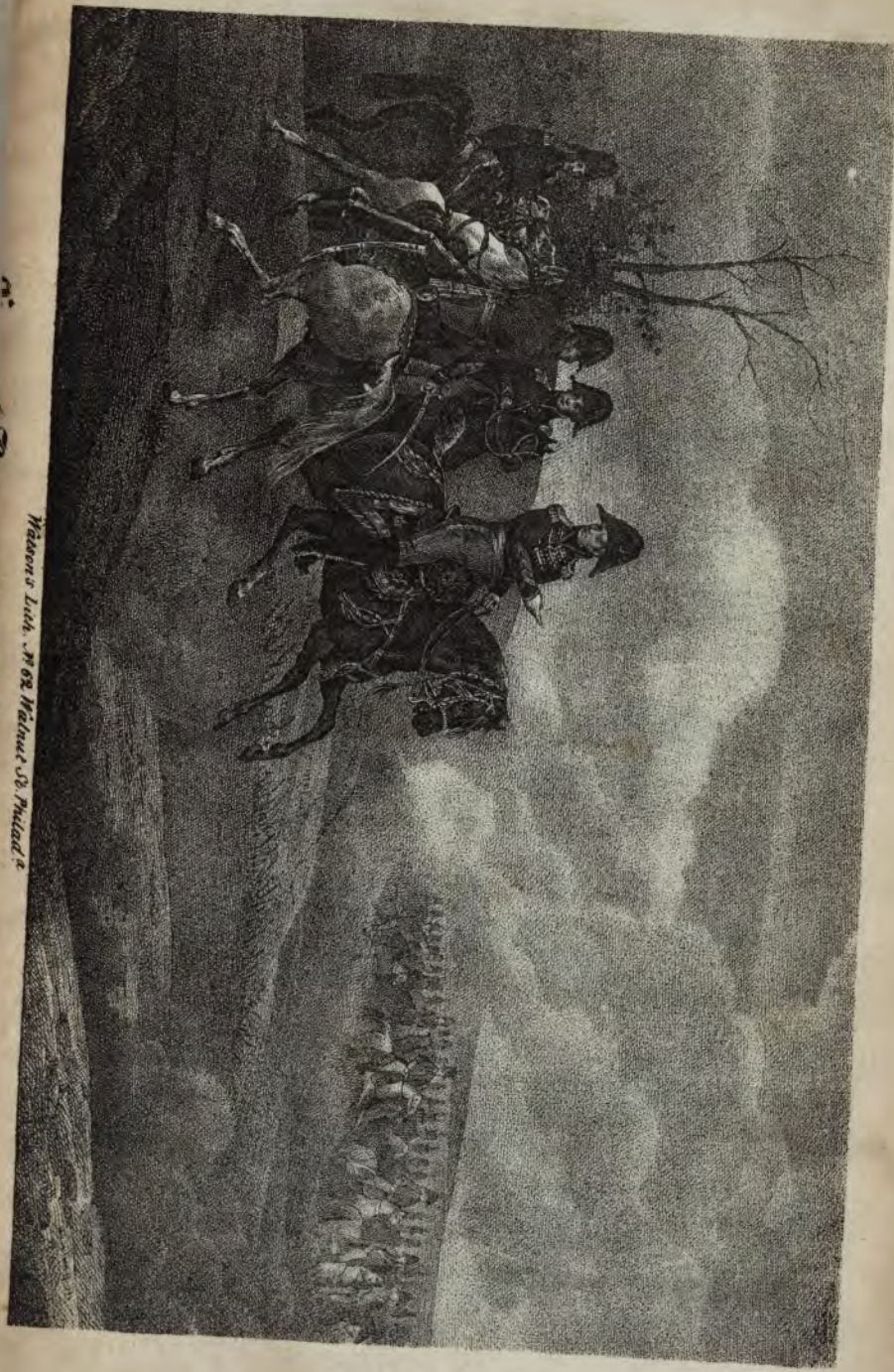
possible for Colonel Richard M. Johnson to bring the second battalion under him to act against Proctor's men, ordered him to cross the swamp and attack the Indians. This he did at the time of Proctor's retreat. He led on his men in good order, but was unfortunately wounded by the very first discharge. He however ordered his men to dismount and form in line, and just as this was done he received a shot through the hand. He despatched the savage from whom he received it; and his wounds being painful, he retired* from the field, leaving Major Thomson in command of his battalion.†

The contest with the Indians was very severe and obstinate for a few moments. They reserved their fire till the heads of the columns and the front line on foot, had approached within a few paces of their position. A very warm fire was then commenced by them, about the time the firing ceased between the British and the first battalion. But the Indians had not sufficient firmness to withstand very long a galling and most destructive fire, which was poured in upon them from our troops. They gave way and fled through the brush into the outer swamp; not, however, before they learned the total discomfiture of their British allies. As soon as the firing commenced between the Indians and the second battalion, Governor Shelby, who was posted at the crotchet in its rear, immediately ordered that part of the front line of infantry which lay between the first swamp and crotchet, being a part of Colonel Donelson's regiment, to march up briskly to the aid of the mounted men. They rushed up accordingly into Colonel Johnson's lines, and participated in the contest at that point. This was the only portion of the infantry which had an opportunity of engaging in any part of the battle.

In this celebrated battle the opposing forces were nearly equal; the British and Indians numbering upwards of two thousand eight hundred, while the American troops were about two thousand five hundred. The loss, however, was

* See McAfee, from p. 388 to 392, for these facts.—*Aurora*, vol. iv. pp. 204, 205.—*Niles' Register*, vol. v. pp. 130—132.

† "Colonel Johnson's numerous wounds prove that he was in front of the battle. Lieutenant-Colonel JAMES JOHNSON and the Majors Payne and Thompson were equally active, though more fortunate."—*Official Account of the Battle*.



Watson's Lith. No 62. Haines & Co. Putland & Co.

wholly unequal. The Americans lost about thirty in all, killed and wounded; whilst their foes lost six hundred and forty-five, killed, wounded, and prisoners, including twenty-five officers.

Among the Indians attacked by Colonel Richard M. Johnson's battalion was the renowned chief Tecumseh, who fell in the fight. A question has lately arisen as to who killed him. The friends of Colonel Johnson have claimed the merit for him. If there be merit in such an act, and it belongs to Colonel Johnson, we would not withhold it from him. The facts are as follows. Tecumseh was not distinguished from the rest of his tribe during the combat, nor was it known that he had fallen until *General Harrison*, to whom he was well known, pointed him out among the numbers who had fallen. His body was lying near the place where Colonel Johnson had received his last wound; along side of it lay another body, and the Colonel could not distinguish the one which he had slain. The merit of this deed lies between Colonel Johnson and a Mr. King, a private in Captain Davidson's company. On this subject McAfee remarks:—

"It is certain that the latter (Colonel Johnson) killed the Indian with his pistol, who shot him through the hand at the very place where Tecumseh lay; but another dead body lay at the same place, and Mr. King, a soldier in Captain Davidson's company, had the honour of killing one of them."

We are informed, that *Colonel Johnson* has never asserted that he killed this chief. He, it appears, is unwilling to wrest the laurels from the brow of Mr. King, and in justice to an humble but brave man, we may regret that others should be less scrupulous than Colonel Johnson.

Thus terminated the glorious and ever memorable battle of the Thames. Upon no occasion has the flag of the Republic been borne more triumphantly against a foreign foe; on no occasion have its stars shone more brilliantly or its stripes flaunted more proudly, than on the banks of the river Thames.

Much had been expected from Harrison's skill, but the result surprised even his most sanguine friends. His name became a theme of eulogy among the statesmen of the country—every man, woman and child in the land, mentioned it with hearts full of joy—with feelings of thankfulness and gratitude

None were so ungenerous as to withhold their admiration—none so ungrateful as to deny his transcendent bravery and matchless military genius. It was left for the mercenary instruments of corrupt politicians at the present day, to perform the base work of defamation !

This decisive and important battle was thus fought and won, in a space of time almost incredibly short, and with a very trifling loss on our side. All the baggage of the enemy and their valuable military stores, property to the amount of a million of dollars, together with the official papers of Proctor, fell into our hands; and several pieces of brass cannon, which had been taken from the British in our revolutionary victories at Saratoga and Yorktown, but which Hull had shamefully surrendered at Detroit, were again captured from our ancient foe by the heroic Harrison.

The united force of the British regulars and Indians engaged in this battle, as we have before stated, amounted to more than twenty-eight hundred—the number of our troops was less than twenty-five hundred—and these, with the exception of one hundred and twenty regulars, were militia and volunteers. The venerable Governor Shelby, a hero of the Revolution, commanded the Kentucky volunteers in this battle, and General Cass, our present minister to France, and the heroic Perry, acted as volunteer aids to General Harrison. This brilliant victory, following up the capture of the British fleet on Lake Erie by the gallant Perry, entirely destroyed the force of the enemy in Upper Canada, and put an end to the war on our north-western frontier.

During this, as well as on former expeditions, General Harrison adopted a rule, on all occasions, to favour himself in nothing, but to share equally with the soldiers in the ranks, the fatigues and hardships of the campaign: A small valise contained all his baggage, except his bedding, which consisted of a single blanket only, fastened over his saddle; and even this he gave to Colonel Evans, a British officer, who was wounded and taken prisoner in this battle. Thirty-five British officers, prisoners of war, supped with General Harrison, on the night after the battle, and all the fare he had it in his power to offer them, was fresh beef, plainly roasted before a camp-fire, without

either bread or salt.* This had been the food of the army during the expedition, and the rations of the General were always precisely those of the soldiers. On every occasion, indeed, he made it a point to set an example of fortitude and patience to his men, and to share with them every hardship, difficulty and danger. Whether encamped or marching, the whole army was regularly under arms at daybreak; and however severe the weather, he never failed to be present, and indeed was generally the first officer on horseback in the whole army.

On receiving the glorious news of the VICTORY OF THE THAMES, the thanks of Congress, were expressed to General Harrison in the warmest terms of approbation. Among many others, whose grateful feelings found utterance on the occasion, the Hon. Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives, observed on the floor of Congress, that

"THE VICTORY OF HARRISON WAS SUCH AS WOULD HAVE SECURED TO A ROMAN GENERAL, IN THE BEST DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC, THE HONOURS OF A TRIUMPH. HE PUT AN END TO THE WAR IN THE UPPERMOST CANADA."

James Madison, President of the United States, in his Message to Congress, December 7th, 1813, in speaking of the North-western army, stated that

"THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE NORTH-WESTERN ARMY, (HARRISON), TRANSFERRED THE WAR THITHER (TO CANADA) AND RAPIDLY PURSUING THE HOSTILE TROOPS, FLEEING WITH THEIR ASSOCIATES, FORCED A GENERAL ACTION, WHICH QUICKLY TERMINATED IN THE DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH, AND DISPERSION OF THE SAVAGE FORCE. THE RESULT IS SIGNALLY HONOURABLE TO MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON, BY WHOSE MILITARY TALENTS IT WAS PERFORMED."

Simon Snyder, the patriotic Governor of Pennsylvania, and the idol of Democracy in that State, thus expressed his admiration of Harrison in his annual message to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, dated December 10th, 1813.

"THE BLESSINGS OF THOUSANDS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN RESCUED FROM THE SCALPING KNIFE OF THE RUTHLESS SAVAGE OF THE WILDERNESS, AND FROM THE STILL MORE SAVAGE PROCTOR, REST ON HARRISON AND HIS GALLANT ARMY."

* Extract from General Harrison's official report of the victory of the Thames
"We have suffered greatly for the want of provisions, and the whole army has subsisted, for the last three days, ON RAW BEEF WITHOUT SALT."

The following resolution was passed by both branches of Congress:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they are hereby presented to Major-General William Henry Harrison, and Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, and through them to the officers and men under their command, for their gallantry and good conduct in defeating the combined British and Indian forces under Major-General Proctor, on the Thames, in Upper Canada, on the 5th day of October, 1813, capturing the British army, with their baggage, camp equipage, and artillery; and that the President of the United States be requested to cause two gold Medals to be struck, emblematical of this triumph, and presented to General Harrison and Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky."

The venerable Thomas Ritchie, Esq., an ardent personal friend of Mr. Van Buren, and the editor now, as then, of the Richmond Enquirer, in referring to General Harrison's official account of the action, remarked,

"General Harrison's detailed letter tells us of every thing we wish to know about the officers, except himself. He does justice to every one but to Harrison; the world must therefore do justice to the man who was too modest to be just to himself."

But why multiply proofs of the universal sense entertained of the importance of this brilliant achievement of valour, or of the high national estimate of Harrison's heroic bravery and military prowess! Volumes would not contain the recorded tributes of admiration and gratitude which filled the columns of our public journals and the minutes of our legislative bodies. *His name was a theme of praise upon every tongue.* He was hailed from Maine to Louisiana, as the "WASHINGTON OF THE WEST." He was the subject of eulogy at every democratic celebration in the country. The mayors of all the large cities issued proclamations inviting the citizens to illuminate their houses in honour of the glorious triumph. And why did the nation thus rejoice? why did joy light up every countenance at the mention of the name of HARRISON? He had expelled the British and their savage associates from our soil, which they polluted! He had followed them in their flight to Canada, and made the proud Lion of England cower before the American Eagle! He had put an end to the strife of arms on our north western frontier. He had hushed the din of war; given repose and security to millions of his fellow citizens; and enabled the husbandman and mechanic to resume their peaceful occupations!

CHAPTER VI.

Harrison removes his troops to Niagara and thence to Sackett's Harbour—Sets out for Washington—Urged by Madison to repair to Cincinnati—His resignation—Causes of this step—Feelings of the American people and army—Croghan's resistance to the Secretary's measures—Jealousy of General Armstrong, and his dismissal from the War Department—Shelby interposes to prevent the resignation of Harrison—Remarks—Sentiments of Colonel Richard M. Johnson—Civil services of Harrison—Elected to Congress—Solicits an investigation into his conduct whilst in command of the army—A committee is appointed—Their report—Triumphant acquittal—Congress bestows a gold medal on Harrison for his military services—His course in Congress—Bill for the relief of veteran soldiers—Bill regulating the militia—Elected to the Senate of Ohio—Elected to the United States Senate—Succeeds General Jackson as chairman of the committee on military affairs—Appointed minister to Colombia—Conclusion.

PEACE WAS NOW restored on the north-western frontier. The ever-memorable victory of the Thames, so brilliant in its execution, and so decisive and glorious in its results, at once terminated the conflict in that quarter. Having expelled the enemy from our soil, and signally defeated them on their own territory in Upper Canada, General Harrison resolved to remove a part of his troops to the Niagara frontier, to assist in the operations then in progress there. The Secretary of War had forwarded an order to him to this effect, but the bearer having been drowned on his journey, it never reached him. Thus do we find Harrison a second time anticipating the instructions of the government. On his arrival at Niagara, he found an order directing him to proceed to Sackett's Harbour with his troops. With this he immediately complied, and, leaving his troops at Sackett's Harbour, he set out for Washington. His journey was one of triumph. He was every where received with the utmost enthusiasm, and entertained with the most distinguished hospitality. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, each, in its turn, rivalled the other in its demonstrations of regard and veneration for the man whom all hailed as their deliverer.

On his arrival at Washington, he was urged by President Madison to repair to Cincinnati, to superintend the measures then contemplated. Shortly afterwards, however, his military career was brought to an abrupt close by his resignation. This event, the subject of national regret, was produced by causes which all deemed abundantly sufficient, who had the slightest knowledge of military etiquette, or were able to appreciate the high sense of honour with which a conquering general's bosom must be animated.

In the plan for the ensuing campaign, to the surprise and regret of the public, General Harrison was designated for a service far removed from any post of danger, and inferior to that which he had a right to expect. Regardless of the memorable victories which this gallant and experienced officer had won, and unmindful of the various and important services which he had rendered to his country, the Secretary of War, (Armstrong,) saw fit to assign to him the command of a district where he would be compelled to remain inactive, while others were appointed to those more arduous duties which he had heretofore performed with so much honour to himself and to the nation. As if still unsatisfied with this egregious insult which he had offered to General Harrison, Secretary Armstrong, on the 25th of April, 1814, appointed a subordinate officer to a separate command within his district, and at the same time opened a correspondence with the subalterns of the army under his command; and even went so far as to issue orders to them directly, instead of communicating his orders through the commander—a course which good discipline required to be observed, and which all previous practice had sanctioned. On the receipt of this intelligence, General Harrison instantly addressed a letter to the Secretary, tendering his resignation, with a notification thereof to the President.

These measures, on the part of the Secretary, were regarded with disgust by the whole American people, and were viewed with equal abhorrence and contempt by the army.

To show the feelings with which they were received by the army, we will give an extract of a letter to Harrison, by CROGHAN, THE HERO OF FORT STEPHENSON.

"Major Holmes has been notified by the War Department that he is chosen to command the land troops, which are intended to co-operate with the fleet, against the enemy's fleet, on the Upper Lakes. So soon as I may be directed by you, (Harrison,) to order Major Holmes on that command, and to furnish him with the necessary troops, I shall do so; but not till then shall he or any part of my troops leave the sod."

For this unjustifiable and outrageous course on the part of Secretary Armstrong, no sufficient apology has ever been assigned by him, and conjecture is baffled by the inquiry, why a General, who, by the force of his military genius, had expelled the enemy from our shores, had subdued a hostile territory, who was neither accused nor suspected of any impropriety, should be deprived of the command of the field where his arms had triumphed. The second measure of the Secretary, independent of the indignity offered to Harrison, was calculated to destroy all discipline in the army.

It was well known that General Armstrong had long viewed with acrimonious jealousy, the imperishable laurels won by Harrison. Well might he regard with bitterness, therefore, every new occasion for adding splendour to the halo which encircled the head of the gallant chief, who had already "FOUGHT MORE BATTLES THAN ANY OTHER AMERICAN GENERAL, AND NEVER LOST ONE." Few, however, deemed his envy of so malignant a character, as to be able to impel him to a course calculated to disgrace the service, tarnish the national honour, and cast the apple of discord into the army.

It will be difficult, at this period, to trace out the true motives that induced the Secretary of War to the unjustifiable course he pursued in this affair. But some knowledge of those events of the war in which he bore a part, with a little insight into human nature, would suggest that the leading causes which prompted him, were the envy and jealousy which a narrow-minded man would naturally feel, on contrasting his own feeble efforts, and abortive attempts, with the consummate skill and brilliant victories, and the almost uniform successes of another. That he had acted in an arbitrary and unwarrantable manner, was afterwards clearly proved. And in the investigation which took place in Congress in the winter of 1816-17, it became so evident that General Harrison had been treated with great injustice by the war department, that a re-

solution giving him a gold medal and the thanks of Congress, was passed unanimously by the Senate, and with but *one* dissenting voice by the House of Representatives.

Mr. Secretary Armstrong was shortly after expelled from office by the indignant Madison; and his name is now almost forgotten, or if remembered is only kept alive by the suspicions which attached to him, of having been accessory to the treason of Hull; whilst WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, the wronged object of his violent opposition, has recently been nominated, by an exalted body of his most distinguished fellow-citizens, as a candidate for the highest office in their gift.

No sooner had the venerable and chivalrous Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain, heard of the resignation of General Harrison, than he addressed a letter to President Madison to prevent his acceptance of it.* In this letter, dated May 18th, 1814, he remarked :—

"I feel no hesitation to declare to you, that I believe General Harrison to be one of the first military characters that I ever knew, and in addition to this, he is capable of making greater personal exertions than any officer with whom I have served. I doubt not but it will be hereafter found that the command of the North-western army, and the various duties attached to it, has been one of the most arduous and difficult tasks ever assigned to any officer in the United States."

Unfortunately for the interests and honour of the Republic, President Madison was absent from the seat of government, on a visit to Virginia,—the resignation of General Harrison and the letter of Governor Shelby were forwarded to him, but the latter was not received until after Secretary Armstrong, *without his knowledge or consent*, had assumed to himself the high prerogative of accepting the resignation. "The President," says Mr. Dawson in his biography of Harrison, "expressed his great regret that the letter of Governor Shelby had not been received earlier, as in that case the valuable services of General Harrison would have been preserved to the nation in the ensuing campaign." The vacancy created in the army

* It is worthy of note, as affording in itself conclusive evidence of his views in regard to the conduct of Armstrong, that just before his death and during the Presidential campaign of 1836, Mr. Madison requested his accomplished wife to search among his papers for this letter of Governor Shelby, and transmit a copy to a friend in Cincinnati for publication. This request she promptly complied with, and it is to this incident that we are indebted for the above extract.

by the resignation of an officer so distinguished as General Harrison, was not easily to be supplied. It was, however, soon after filled by the appointment of *General Jackson*.

In this resignation, General Harrison evinced the true patriotism and disinterestedness, which have always marked his conduct. He would cheerfully have devoted his services to his country, even in an appointment inferior to that which should have been assigned to him; but he was too high-principled to retain his rank, by yielding assent to measures which he considered to be subversive of military order and discipline; and though his own fortune had been shattered by the neglect of his private affairs, for the benefit of the public, yet he scorned to receive the pay and emoluments of his office, when he was no longer permitted to perform its duties actively and honourably.

Soon after his resignation, in the summer of 1814, Mr. Madison evinced his unabated confidence in the abilities and integrity of General Harrison, by appointing him to treat with the Indians, in conjunction with his old companions in arms, Governor Shelby and General Cass. And in the following year, he was placed at the head of another commission, appointed to treat with the north-western tribes. The advantageous treaties made in both these cases, afforded new instances of the unfailing success, that has always attended General Harrison's negotiations with the Indians.

The leading events in the campaigns of 1812-13,—the gallant defence of Fort Meigs, and the decisive victory of the Thames, are lasting memorials of General Harrison's military genius. Yet, for these achievements, he deserves far less praise than for the skilful operations and the Fabian policy, which led to these and other successes. The prudent care and indefatigable exertions, by which he provided for his army in a wild and devastated country—the promptness and unwearied activity, with which he met and defeated the schemes of his antagonists—and the admirable skill, with which he held in check an enemy far superior in numbers, and with a small force protected an extended line of frontier, and guarded the lives and property of thousands of his fellow-citizens, betokened a genius of the highest order, with a vigorous mind constantly on the alert.

Thus closed the *military career* of Major-General Harrison, one of America's most upright and successful commanders. We hazard nothing in saying, that as an officer, he has had but few equals; in one particular, at all events, he seems to have had no parallels—in securing and retaining the affections of his officers and men. In an army of republicans, the love which a soldier bears his commander, and the confidence he places in him, are, at all times, the chief incentives to exertion. The Americans, on becoming soldiers, never divest themselves wholly of the character of citizens. Discipline may modify their habits; suffering and absence from home may for a time estrange their domestic affections; still, they know and feel that, in all the essential rights of man, they and their official superiors are equals; that the authority of the commander is but a trust granted on account of superior knowledge or sagacity, but which he holds, and is bound to exercise, for the benefit of the whole. They know that when the invader shall be expelled from the soil of freedom, they and their general shall stand on the same level, enjoying the same rights, protected by the same laws, and obliged to render to society the same duties.

So long as they continue bound to him by the silken chain of affection, their obedience will be cheerful and implicit; but let them but once suspect his capacity or integrity, and the voice of discord and insubordination will be heard, even amid the din of battle or the plaudits of victory.

To these considerations Harrison seemed to have been fully alive; and accordingly, we at all times find him, like Washington, scrupulously respectful of the rights and even feelings of those who had enrolled themselves for the defence of their country; willing, nay anxious to nullify the severity of military discipline, and render it as consistent and conformable as possible with those civil rights for which they were contending. He never caused a militia soldier to be punished during the whole period of his military career. Few commanders can say as much; and yet no one ever enjoyed the confidence, admiration and obedience of the militia to so great an extent.

It is scarcely necessary to state the estimation in which he was held by the officers under his command. In no instance

which has reached us, has the voice of one of them been raised to discredit the commander who led them to victory: but to their and his honour be it said, whenever he has been attacked by the voice of calumny, they have, as by a common impulse, rallied in his defence; thus proving themselves worthy of the laurels which they wear.

We cannot better illustrate the esteem and veneration with which he has ever been regarded by the many brave officers who are at all times proud to boast of having been his pupils, than by copying the following eloquent remarks of Colonel RICHARD M. JOHNSON, now Vice-President of the United States, delivered in Congress, March 2d, 1831.

"Who is General Harrison? The son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; who spent the greater part of his large fortune in redeeming the pledge he then gave, of his 'fortune, life and sacred honour,' to secure the liberties of his country. Of the career of General Harrison I need not speak; the history of the West is his history. For forty years he has been identified with its interests, its perils and its hopes. Universally beloved in the walks of peace, and distinguished by his ability in the councils of his country, he has been yet more illustriously distinguished in the field. DURING THE LATE WAR, HE WAS LONGER IN ACTIVE SERVICE THAN ANY OTHER GENERAL OFFICER; HE WAS, PERHAPS, OFFENER IN ACTION THAN ANY ONE OF THEM, AND NEVER SUSTAINED A DEFEAT."

Although General Harrison had retired from the army, it could not be expected that talents such as he possessed, would long remain unemployed in a government based upon and supported by *public opinion alone*. Accordingly in the year 1816, he was triumphantly elected by the people of Ohio, to fill a seat in Congress, at that time vacated by the resignation of the Hon. John McLean. To enable our readers to form some idea of the feeling which pervaded the West in his favour at the time, we will only state, that although there were six opposing candidates, the votes received by him exceeded the number polled by the whole of them, more than *one thousand*. A more triumphant vindication of his claims cannot well be conceived. Republics have long been famed for ingratitude. The reproach has at length become a by-word; but we feel confident, that in no case, where the merit of an individual has been *known*, has it ever been unappreciated by the people, however it may have been disregarded by their faithless servants.

Shortly after he took his seat in Congress, one of the army

contractors, whose unlawful aims had been defeated by the rigid supervision of Harrison, uttered language which insinuated against him and Richard M. Johnson, a charge of misconduct, whilst the former was in command of the army. General Harrison boldly met the charge, and *solicited an investigation by Congress.*

A committee of Congress was appointed on the subject, who reported that "GENERAL HARRISON AND RICHARD M. JOHNSON STOOD ABOVE SUSPICION." At a subsequent stage of the inquiry, the matter was referred to the Secretary of War, who reported that General Harrison *had been guilty of no impropriety of conduct; that upwards of a million and a half of dollars had passed through his hands during the war, no part of which had been applied to his own use; that from the evidence furnished to him, it appeared that General Harrison was poorer at the end of the war than he was at the beginning of it.* In relation to this subject, Mr. Hulbert (one of the committee) remarked as follows: "IN FINE, I FEEL MYSELF AUTHORIZED TO SAY, THAT EVERY MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE IS FULLY SATISFIED THAT THE CONDUCT OF GENERAL HARRISON, IN RELATION TO THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THIS INQUIRY, HAS BEEN THAT OF A BRAVE, HONEST AND HONOURABLE MAN."

Such testimony as this, in the hour of victory, when the bosom of every American beat high and warm with the exultations of triumph, might derive a part of its weight from the enthusiasm of national feeling; but let it be recollected that this was some three years after the eclat of his victories had pervaded the land. The report was made at a time of profound peace, by a committee of Congress, acting under the solemn obligations of an oath.

It was during the pendency of this inquiry that a resolution was introduced into the Senate of the United States, by Mr. Barlow, of Virginia, to grant to General Harrison and Governor Shelby, a gold medal, commemorative of the services they had rendered to the country. This resolution, on motion of Mr. Laycock, of Pennsylvania, was postponed. The postponement has lately been held up, by the opponents of General Harrison, as a mark of disapprobation. But the reader will perceive, at a glance, that it was impossible to pass it without prejudging

the questions submitted, at the instance of General Harrison, to the committee of inquiry. Had it been passed, it was such an evidence of the approval of Congress, as would have rendered the inquiry useless. Had it been negatived, injustice would have been done a brave and patriotic man. The only course was to postpone it, and, at a day subsequent to the report of the committee, the resolution came up *and passed the Senate-UNANIMOUSLY*, and the House of Representatives with but *ONE* dissenting voice. The medal thus presented, was worthy of the donors, and not less of him who was the recipient of the honour.*

As a better opportunity will not be presented in the progress of this hasty sketch of General Harrison's life, for relating the following anecdote, and as we have just explained his triumphant vindication from the calumny of one foe, we will here take occasion to recount another.

A fellow, whose name was McIntosh, feeling aggravated at some restriction imposed on his traffic with the savages, openly asserted that Governor Harrison had cheated the Indians in the treaty at Fort Wayne, by which the United States had the year before obtained so large a cession of lands from the Miamies, Delawares, Pottawatomies and Kickapoos. As this calumny was industriously circulated, Governor Harrison thought it due both to his own character, and to that of the general government, that the charge should be fully and judicially investigated, while the subject was still fresh, and the testimony in relation to the treaty at Fort Wayne was still within reach. An action for slander was therefore brought against McIntosh, in the Supreme Court of the Territory, and every possible measure was adopted to obtain a fair and impartial decision. To insure this, two of the judges left the bench during the trial—one being a friend of the governor, and the other of the defendant; leaving the case to be adjudicated by the third judge, who had but recently arrived in the Territory, and was but slightly acquainted with either of the parties. All the facts connected with the negotiation of the treaty of Fort

* It is not unworthy of remark that General Laycock, who, pending the inquiry, moved the *postponement* of the resolution, supported General Harrison when a candidate for President, in 1835-6.

Wayne, were critically inquired into, and the defendant was allowed every opportunity to examine all the persons engaged in the Indian Department, or who were acquainted with the circumstances attendant upon the making of this treaty. But the more this subject was investigated, the more clearly did it manifest the strict honour and integrity of Governor Harrison; until, at length, convinced of this, the counsel of McIntosh abandoned all plea of justification, and asked only for a *mitigation of damages*. The jury returned a verdict of four thousand dollars against the defendant; a heavy verdict in a new country, where money is always scarce, and damages given by juries in such cases are generally very small. A large amount of the defendant's property was sold the following year to satisfy this judgment, and was bought in by the agent of the governor while he himself was absent in command of the army. *Two-thirds of this property Governor Harrison afterwards returned to McIntosh, and the remainder he distributed among the orphan children of some of his gallant fellow-citizens who fell in battle during the last war!* Such acts need no comment: while magnanimity, disinterestedness and generosity are prized among men, the tongue of praise even can scarcely do them justice.

Mr. Hall remarks, that General Harrison had two objects in view, in accepting the seat in Congress. They were,

1st. The introduction of an efficient Military System.

2d. To procure relief for the veteran soldiers who had served in the two wars of Independence.

He was placed at the head of the committee to whom the organization of the Militia system was referred, and in due time, introduced a bill accompanied with a report, in which he endeavoured to establish these points:

1st. "That a government like ours should rely upon its militia for defence, rather than on a standing army.

2d. "That the militia should be disciplined.

3d. "That a state of discipline adequate to the object, could only be obtained, by a system of instruction combined with the ordinary education of youth."

Our limits will not permit us to furnish our readers with an abstract of his arguments on this subject, the theory of which was so ably sustained by the experience of its author, but will content ourselves with remarking that it was "submitted to

the executive, and was approved by all the heads of departments, especially by *Mr. Monroe* and *Mr. Crawford*."

Whilst in Congress, Harrison warmly advocated the acknowledgment of the independence of the South American Republics, and made some of the most eloquent speeches delivered on the subject.

At the expiration of his term of service in Congress, in 1819, he was elected by the people of Ohio to the State Senate, in which he served for some time with his usual eminent ability.

In the year 1824, he was elected by the Legislature of Ohio, to the Senate of the United States, in which body *he succeeded General Jackson as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs*. While serving in this high station, he commanded universal respect. His views as a statesman were liberal and extended; his remarkable readiness in debate soon rendered him a prominent member; and the nervous and impassioned eloquence, and classical felicity of illustration, with which he enforced his arguments, gained him irresistible influence. He introduced a bill into the Senate to reduce the duty on salt, and was the most zealous champion of a bill to confer the appointment of cadets at West Point on the sons of those who had fallen in battle. He also warmly urged the claims of *our veteran soldiers upon government for support*; and although unsuccessful in procuring a modification of our pension system, his efforts on this subject cannot soon be forgotten by those who were the objects of his humane interposition. The next distinguished station filled by Harrison, was that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, to which he was appointed in the year 1826. The difficulties which he found existing in that Republic, induced him to write his celebrated letter to Bolivar, dated at Bogota, September 27, 1829. We hazard little in saying, that in point of sound republican doctrine, it is second to no document extant.

Since his return from this mission, he has lived, like Washington and Cincinnatus, in comparative retirement, upon his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio, about sixteen miles below the city of Cincinnati. A visiter, unacquainted with the illustrious old patriot, would discern nothing in his demeanour,

habits, occupation or manners, to distinguish him from that intelligent and industrious class of our countrymen to whom Jefferson declared "we are to look for the preservation of our liberties,"—**THE YEOMANRY OF AMERICA!** Plain and unostentatious, hospitable to a fault, and generous to all who claim his bounty, his farm-house is the resort of the indigent and needy from almost every quarter of the country. No soldier who has served under him, ever passes his mansion without sharing his hospitality. Though his resources are by no means inexhaustible, no meritorious victim of misfortune has ever appealed to his benevolence in vain. In addition to his own family, he is rearing and educating two grandsons, who are also the grandsons of the gallant and glorious General Pike.

With the most enticing opportunities of accumulating wealth, during his long government of Indiana and superintendency of Indian affairs, he acquired none; his honest and scrupulous integrity were proof against the golden temptations. His time and best energies were devoted to the service of his country, and his own interests were ever with him a secondary consideration. He even, when Governor of Indiana, greatly diminished the usual emoluments of such an office, by refusing to accept any of those fees, whether as Governor or as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, which before his time had been customarily paid. For his services as commander of the expedition to Tippecanoe, *he never asked nor received any compensation!* And subsequently, when in command of our north-western army, though he lived as frugally and fared as hardly as any of his fellow-citizens in the ranks, yet, at his own expense, he purchased clothing and necessary comforts for his sick and wounded soldiers, until he not only exhausted his pay as commander-in-chief, but seriously encroached too on his own private means. He therefore retired without the spoils of office, and with only a competency barely sufficient for his support; but rich in what he esteemed of far greater value—in a reputation undimmed by a single stain, and in the honour and respect of all his fellow-citizens.

We cannot refrain here from alluding to a circumstance which evinces the peculiar delicacy and honour which have always swayed General Harrison in his pecuniary transactions. A few

years ago, it was ascertained that a large tract of land near Cincinnati, which had been sold some time before for a mere trifle, under an execution against the original proprietor, could not be held by the titles derived from the purchasers, on account of some irregularity in the proceedings. The legal title was in General Harrison and another gentleman, who were the heirs at law. This tract of land was exceedingly valuable, and would have constituted a princely estate for both these heirs, had they chosen to insist on their legal rights: or they might have made some amicable arrangement with the purchasers, to which they would gladly have assented, and have retained at least one half of this property, by giving up the remainder. But General Harrison had never yet suffered his interest to blind his true sense of justice and high-minded honour, nor did he in this instance. On being informed of the situation of this property, he obtained the assent of his co-heir, and immediately executed deeds in fee simple to the purchasers, without claiming any consideration except the trifling difference between the actual value of the land when sold and the amount paid at the sheriff's sale. There were in this tract, too, twelve acres of General Harrison's private property by donation from his father-in-law, which had been improperly included in the sale, and which he might have retained both legally and equitably; but such was his nice sense of honour and scrupulous regard for the rights of others, that he suffered even these twelve acres to be included in the deed given to the purchasers. *This portion* of the land thus relinquished by General Harrison, is now worth more than *one hundred thousand dollars!*

In person, General Harrison is tall and slender; his features are irregular, but bold and strongly marked; his eyes are dark, keen and penetrating; his forehead is high and expansive; his mouth peculiarly denotes firmness and genius; and the expression of his countenance is highly indicative of intelligence and benevolence of character. From early manhood he has never had the appearance of possessing a robust constitution; but from the activity and temperate habits of his past life, few men at his age, enjoy their moral and physical energies in such remarkable vigour. His manners are plain, frank and unassuming; and his disposition is cheerful, kind and generous,

almost to a fault. In his private intercourse, he is beloved and esteemed by all who know him. In the various civil and military offices he has held, he has always been moderate and forbearing, yet firm and true to his trust. No other commander has ever been more popular with our militia, and the true secret cannot be better explained than by his own reply, when asked how he had gained this influence: "By treating them," said he, "with affection and kindness; by always recollecting that they were my fellow-citizens, whose feelings I was bound to respect; and by sharing with them, on every occasion, the hardships which they were obliged to undergo."

His suavity of manners, his generosity and kindness of heart, invariably won him the warm affections of those who were placed under his authority, while his moderation, his disinterestedness, his scrupulous attention to the public interests, and the wisdom with which he exercised the extensive powers intrusted to him, commanded the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens.

General Harrison is likewise strictly and truly *a pious man*. Though he has always been noted for his particular attention to public worship and Christian offices, yet religion with him has not been a Sabbath-day garment only, but rather an every-day familiar habit—not a mere sense of incumbent duty, but a warm and spontaneous feeling, kindled into life in his early youth, and forming the hope and firm reliance of his manhood and declining years. The writer of a biographical notice of him, declares that he deems it no betrayal of confidence to say, that he has more than once, on entering at daybreak the chamber of General Harrison, found him on his knees at his bedside, absorbed in his devotions to his Maker, when he could not have supposed that any eye save that of his God was resting on him.

In the republican institutions of our country, birth and parentage are comparatively of very little importance; and no candidate for public favour can found thereon the slightest claim to the respect or the support of his fellow-citizens. We have happily shaken off the thralling prejudices of the old world, and a title to office and honourable distinction is not with us hereditary; but every man must earn his own good name, and

his claim on the favour of the people by his own good deeds. Yet aware, as every one must be, of the powerful influence of early education, it is worthy of remark, as well as gratifying to know, that a candidate for public office, in whom we feel an interest, passed all the early years of his life with the brightest examples of virtue constantly before him; and under the tuition of illustrious patriots, whose memory is revered by every true-hearted American. It is pleasing to be assured, that his first political sentiments were imbibed in a school of the purest republican principles. And when we trace up the career of this remarkable man, from the spring-time of his youth, to the summer of his manhood, and to the early autumn of his years, and see those principles closely adhered to throughout, we can scarcely resist the conviction, that his future course will be consistent with the past; and that, with matured abilities, he will still be more conspicuous for his republican principles, his moderation in office, his firm integrity, and his extended and enlightened views as a statesman. Such were the early advantages of William Henry Harrison; such has been his course thus far through life; and such is now the bright promise, to a realization of which we may safely look forward, should the people see fit to place him in office.

The principles that would govern General Harrison, should he be elected to the Presidency, may be known by the following extracts from a letter addressed by him to the Hon. Harmar Denny, on the 2d of December, 1838.

"Among the principles proper to be adopted by any Executive sincerely desirous to restore the administration to its original simplicity and purity, I deem the following to be of prominent importance.

"I. To CONFINE HIS SERVICE TO A SINGLE TERM.

"II. To DISCLAIM ALL RIGHT OF CONTROL OVER THE PUBLIC TREASURE, *with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law to carry on the public services, and that to be applied precisely as the law may direct, and drawn from the treasury agreeably to the long established forms of that department.*

"III. THAT HE SHOULD NEVER ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE ELECTIONS *either by the People or the State Legislatures, nor suffer the Federal officers under his control, to take any other part in them than by giving their own votes when they possess the right of voting.*

"IV. *That in the exercise of the veto power, he should limit his rejection of bills to: 1st. Such as are in his opinion unconstitutional. 2d. Such as tend to encroach on the rights of States or individuals. 3d. Such as, involving deep*

interests, may in his opinion require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people, to be ascertained at the succeeding elections.

"V. That he should never suffer the influence of his name to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

"VI. That in removals from office of those who hold their appointments during the pleasure of the executive, the cause of such removal should be stated, if requested, to the Senate, at the time the nomination of a successor is made.

"And last, but not least in importance,

"VII. That he should not suffer the Executive department of the government to become the source of Legislation; but leave the whole business of making laws for the Union to the department to which the Constitution has exclusively assigned it, until they have assumed that perfected shape, where and when alone the opinions of the Executive may be heard."

Our confined limits restrain us from making more liberal extracts from this admirable letter, the noble and purely republican sentiments of which, together with its plain yet manly and vigorous language, forcibly remind us of the invaluable writings of our revered *Washington*.

The friends of General Harrison found no especial claim on his military services. His friends would scorn, as much as he would, any attempt to dazzle a single one of their fellow-citizens by the glory of his military renown, brilliant though it be. They would point rather to his numerous civil services, in the forty years he has devoted to his country; to the various and important offices he has so ably filled,—in the territorial governments, in the Legislature of his own state, and in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States; and to the high order of abilities displayed in his speeches in Congress, in his public acts, and in his voluminous public correspondence. And we here take occasion to say, that all his letters and public papers have been exclusively written by himself; and that so far from his having called in the mental aid of another to prepare his messages and despatches, as some of our distinguished men have condescended to do, he has never even employed an amanuensis to perform the manual labour of his correspondence. His ruling principles through life appear to have been, an ardent love for his country and an earnest desire to serve her best interests; with a devotion to the pure republican maxims of the Revolution, always unwavering and consistent: unlike the scheming politicians of a more modern

school, whose own interest is the polar star that guides them, whatever may betide their country.

The services of General Harrison have always been rendered *to his country* and not *to any political faction*: nor have his civil or military promotions ever been obtained by party arrangements or underhand manœuvres; but on the contrary, they were given him at the earnest wish and by the spontaneous confidence of his fellow-citizens. Neither has his present nomination for the Presidency been made by a discontented faction or political party, but by the voluntary choice of a great majority of the people, uttered by their chosen delegates. And happily, the more his claims to the high office for which he has been nominated, are canvassed, the more acceptable will he become. A veteran soldier who has won for his country every battle he has fought; an experienced statesman whose integrity has been thoroughly tried and proved; a practical republican of the good old school; and an *honest man*;—whose attachment to the true interests of the people is unquestionable, and who will rally about him the great mass of honest and intelligent citizens.

With tried patriotism, with abilities of the highest order, with integrity pure as the unsullied snow, and with the truest republican principles, William Henry Harrison is now before his fellow-citizens as a candidate for the highest office in their gift. In the long course of his public life, he has always openly avowed and proved himself a stanch advocate of popular rights, and is therefore truly **THE CANDIDATE OF THE PEOPLE**. He comes before them, not with a crowd of pampered and still-grasping officials, to intrigue and bribe for him, but with the noble frankness of an honourable and high-minded man, willing and desirous to be judged impartially by his fellow-citizens, and ready to abide by their honest decision.

APPENDIX.

THE following letter was addressed to Bolivar by General Harrison, when Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Republic of Colombia. It was suggested by the fear that Bolivar would yield to the exigencies of the times, and assume regal power, by converting the republican government of Colombia into a despotism. General Harrison immediately conceived the purpose of dissuading him from a design so inimical and fatal to the cause of Republicanism.

SIR,—

BOGOTA, 27th September, 1829.

If there is any thing in the style, the matter, or the object of this letter, which is calculated to give offence to your Excellency, I am persuaded you will readily forgive it, when you reflect on the motives which induced me to write it. An old soldier could possess no feelings but those of the kindest character towards one who has shed so much lustre on the profession of arms; nor can a citizen of the country of Washington cease to wish that, in Bolivar, the world might behold another instance of the highest military attainments, united with the purest patriotism, and the greatest capacity for civil government.

Such, sir, have been the fond hopes, not only of the people of the United States, but of the friends of liberty throughout the world. I will not say that your Excellency has formed projects to defeat those hopes. But there is no doubt that they have not only been formed, but are, at this moment, in progress to maturity, and openly avowed by those who possess your entire confidence. I will not attribute to these men impure motives; but can they be disinterested advisers? Are they not the very persons who will gain most by the proposed change?—who will, indeed, gain all that is to be gained, without furnishing any part of the equivalent? That *that*, the price of their future wealth and honours, is to be furnished exclusively by yourself? And of what does it consist? Your great character. Such a one, that, if a man were wise, and possessed of the empire of the Cæsars, in its best days, he would give all to obtain. Are you prepared to make this sacrifice, for such an object?

I am persuaded that those who advocate these measures, have never dared to induce you to adopt them, by any argument founded on your personal interests; and that, to succeed, it would be necessary to convince you that no other course remained to save the country from the evils of anarchy. This is the question, then, to be examined.

Does the history of this country, since the adoption of the constitution, really exhibit unequivocal evidence that the people are unfit to be free? Is the exploded opinion of a European philosopher, of the last age, that "in the new hemisphere man is a degraded being," to be renewed, and supported by the example of Colombia? The proofs should, indeed, be strong, to induce an American to adopt an opinion so humiliating.

Feeling always a deep interest in the success of the revolutions in the late Spanish America, I have never been an inattentive observer of events pending, and posterior to the achievement of its independence. In these events, I search in vain for a single fact to show that, in Colombia at least, the state of society is unsuited to the adoption of a free government. Will it be said that a free government did exist, but, being found inadequate to the objects for which it had been instituted, it has been superseded by one of a different character, with the concurrence of a majority of the people?

It is the most difficult thing in the world for me to believe that a people in the possession of their rights as freemen, would ever be willing to surrender them, and submit themselves to the will of a master. If any such instances are on record, the power thus transferred has been in a moment of extreme public danger, and then limited to a very short period. I do not think that it is by any means certain, that the majority of the French people favoured the elevation of Napoleon to the throne of France. But, if it were so, how different were the circumstances of that country from those of Colombia, when the constitution of Cucuta was overthrown! At the period of the elevation of Napoleon to the first consulate, all the powers of Europe were the open or secret enemies of France; civil war raged within her borders; the hereditary king possessed many partisans in every province; the people, continually betrayed by the factions which murdered and succeeded each other, had imbibed a portion of their ferocity, and every town and village witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter of both men and women, of all parties and principles. Does the history of Colombia, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, present any parallel to these scenes? Her frontiers have been never seriously menaced; no civil war raged; not a partisan of the former government was to be found in the whole extent of her territory; no factions contended with each other for the possession of power; the executive government remained in the hands of those to whom it had been committed by the people, in a fair election. In fact, no people ever passed from under the yoke of a despotic government, to the enjoyment of entire freedom, with less disposition to abuse their newly acquired power, than those of Colombia. They submitted, indeed, to a continuance of some of the most arbitrary and unjust features which distinguished the former government. If there was any disposition, on the part of the great mass of the people, to effect any change in the existing order of things; if the Colombians act from the same motives and upon the same principles which govern mankind elsewhere, and in all ages, they would have desired to take from the government a part of the power, which, in their inexperience, they had confided to it. The monopoly of certain articles of agricultural produce, and the oppressive duty of the Alcabala, might have been tolerated, until the last of their tyrants were driven from the country. But when peace was restored, when not one enemy remained within its borders, it might reasonably have been supposed that the people would have desired to abolish these remains of arbitrary government, and substitute for them some tax more equal and accordant with republican principles.

On the contrary, it is pretended that they had become enamoured with these despotic measures, and so disgusted with the freedom they did enjoy, that they were more than willing to commit their destinies to the uncontrolled will of your Excellency. Let me assure you, sir, that these assertions will gain no credit with the present generation, or with posterity. They will demand the facts which had induced a people, by no means deficient in intelligence, so soon to abandon the principles for which they had so gallantly fought, and tamely surrender that liberty which had been obtained at the expense of so much blood. And what facts can be produced? It cannot be said that life and property were not as well protected under the republican government, as they have ever been; nor that there existed any opposition to the constitution and laws, too strong for the ordinary powers of the government to put down.

If the insurrection of General Paez, in Venezuela, is adduced, I would ask, by what means was he reduced to obedience? Your Excellency, the legitimate head of the republic, appeared, and, in a moment, all opposition ceased, and Venezuela was restored to the republic. But, it is said, that this was effected by your personal influence, or the dread of your military talents, and that, to keep General Paez, and other ambitious chiefs, from dismembering the republic, it was necessary to invest your Excellency with the extraordinary powers you possess. There would be some reason in this, if you had refused to act without these powers; or, having acted as you did, you had been unable to accomplish any thing without them. But you succeeded completely, and there can be no possible reason assigned why you would not have succeeded, with the same means, against any future attempt of General Paez, or any other general.

There appears, however, to be one sentiment in which all parties unite; that is, that, as matters now stand, you alone can save the country from ruin, at least, from much calamity. They differ, however, very widely, as to the measures to be taken to put your Excellency in the way to render this important service. The lesser, and more interested party, is for placing the government in your hands for life; either with your present title, or with one which, it must be confessed, better accords with the nature of the powers to be exercised. If they adopt the less offensive title, and if they weave into their system some apparent checks to your will, it is only for the purpose of masking, in some degree, their real object; which is nothing short of the establishment of a despotism. The plea of necessity, that eternal argument of all conspirators, ancient or modern, against the rights of mankind, will be resorted to, to induce you to accede to their measures; and the unsettled state of the country, which has been designedly produced by them, will be adduced as evidence of that necessity.

There is but one way for your Excellency to escape from the snares which have been so artfully laid to entrap you, and that is, to stop short in the course which, unfortunately, has been already commenced. Every step you advance, under the influence of such councils, will make retreat more difficult, until it will become impracticable. You will be told that the intention is only to vest you with authority to correct what is wrong in the administration, and to put down the factions, and that, when the country once enjoys tranquillity, the government may be restored to the people. Delusive will be the hopes of those who rely upon this declaration. The promised hour of tranquillity will never arrive. If events tended to produce it, they would be counteracted by the government itself. It was the strong remark of a former President of the United States, that, "Sooner will the lover be contented with the first smiles of his mistress, than a government cease to endeavour to preserve and extend its powers." With whatever reluctance your Excellency may commence the career; with whatever disposition to abandon it, when the objects for which it was commenced have been obtained; when once fairly entered, you will be borne along by the irresistible force of pride, habit of command, and, indeed, of self-preservation, and it will be impossible to recede.

But, it is said, that it is for the benefit of the people that the proposed change is to be made; and that by your talents and influence, alone, aided by unlimited power, the ambitious chiefs in the different departments are to be restrained, and the integrity of the republic preserved. I have said, and I most sincerely believe, that, from the state into which the country has been brought, that you alone can preserve it from the horrors of anarchy. But I cannot conceive that any extraordinary powers are necessary. The authority to see that the laws are executed; to call out the strength of the country to enforce their execution, is all that is required, and is what is possessed by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and of every other republic; and is what was confided to the executive, by the constitution of Ocuta. Would your talents or your energies be impaired in the council, or the field, or your influence lessened, when acting as the head of a republic?

I propose to examine, very briefly, the results which are likely to flow from the proposed change of government: 1st, in relation to the country; and, 2d, to yourself, personally. Is the tranquillity of the country to be secured by it? Is it possible for your Excellency to believe, that when the mask has been thrown off, and the people discover that a despotic government has been fixed upon them, that they will quietly submit to it? Will they forget the pass-word which, like the cross of fire, was the signal for rallying to oppose their former tyrants? Will the virgins, at your bidding, cease to chant the songs of liberty, which so lately animated the youth to victory? Was the patriotic blood of Colombia all expended in the fields of Vargas, Bayaca, and Carebobo? The schools may cease to enforce upon their pupils the love of country, drawn from the examples of Cato and the Brutii, Harmodius and Aristogiton; but the glorious example of patriotic devotion, exhibited in your own Hacienda, will supply their place. Depend on it, sir, that the moment which shall announce the continuance of arbitrary power in your hands, will be the commencement of commotions which will require all your talents and energies to suppress. You may succeed. The disciplined army, at your disposal, may be too powerful for an unarmed, undisciplined, and scattered population; but one unsuccessful effort will not content them, and your feelings will be eternally racked by being obliged to make war upon those who have been accustomed to call you their father, and to invoke blessings on your head, and for no cause but their adherence to principles which you yourself had taught them to regard more than their lives.

If by the strong government which the advocates for the proposed change so strenuously recommend, one without responsibility is intended, which may put men to death, and immure them in dungeons, without trial, and one where the army is every thing, and the people nothing, I must say, that, if the tranquillity of Colombia is to be preserved in this way, the wildest anarchy would be preferable. Out of that anarchy a better government might arise; but the chains of military despotism once fastened upon a nation, ages might pass away before they could be shaken off.

But I contend that the strongest of all governments is that which is most free. We consider that of the United States as the strongest, precisely because it is the most free. It possesses the faculties equally to protect itself from foreign force or internal convulsion. In both, it has been sufficiently tried. In no country upon earth, would an armed opposition to the laws be sooner or more effectually put down. Not so much by the terrors of the guillotine and the gibbet, as from the aroused determination of the nation, exhibiting their strength, and convincing the factious that their cause was hopeless. No, sir, depend upon it, that the possession of arbitrary power, by the government of Colombia, will not be the means of securing its tranquillity; nor will the danger of disturbances solely arise from the opposition of the people. The power, and the military force which it will be necessary to put in the hands of the governors of the distant provinces, added to the nature of the country, will continually present to those officers the temptation, and the means of revolt.

Will the proposed change restore prosperity to the country? With the best intentions to do so, will you be able to recall commerce to its shores and give new life to the drooping state of agriculture? The cause of the constant decline, in these great interests, cannot be mistaken. It arises from the fewness of those who labour, and the number of those who are to be supported by that labour. To support a swarm of luxurians and idle monks, and an army greatly disproportioned to the resources of the country, with a body of officers in a tenfold degree disproportioned to the army, every branch of industry oppressed with burdens which deprive the ingenious man of the profits of his ingenuity, and the labourer of his reward. To satisfy the constant and pressing demands which are made upon it, the treasury seizes upon every thing within its grasp—destroying the very germ of future prosperity. Is there any prospect that these evils will cease with the proposed change? Can the army be dispensed with? Will the influence of the monks be no longer necessary? Believe me, sir, that the support which the government derives from both these sources, will be more than ever requisite.

But the most important inquiry is, the effect which this strong government is to have upon the people themselves. Will it tend to improve and elevate their character, and fit them for the freedom which it is pretended is ultimately to be bestowed upon them? The question has been answered from the age of Homer. Man does not learn under oppression those noble qualities and feelings which fit him for the enjoyment of liberty. Nor is despotism the proper school in which to acquire the knowledge of the principles of republican government. A government whose revenues are derived from diverting the very sources of wealth from its subjects, will not find the means of improving the morals and enlightening the minds of the youth, by supporting systems of liberal education; and, if it could, it would not.

In relation to the effect which this investment of power is to have upon your happiness and your fame

